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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-120
Thursday
24 June 1993

Daily Report
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FBIS-SOV-93-120 *24 June 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Uzbek Leader Calls For International Meeting on Afghanistan *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
ILO's Labor Conference Ends 80th Session *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
EC Summit Shows Move Toward E. European, Russian Integration *[Moscow International]* 1
Moscow Opposes Politicization of New Black Sea Community *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 2

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

CIS Officials Hold Meeting on 'Confidential' Communications *[Moscow TV]* 3
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Jun 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Success of Chernomyrdin U.S. Visit Doubtful *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 4
Visit Reportedly Canceled *[Radio Rossii]* 4
Spokesman Announces Postponement *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
Shokhin Cuts Short U.S. Visit; Not 'Emergency' *[Russian TV]* 4
Joint U.S.-Russian Chamber of Commerce Set Up *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Antinuclear Groups Urge Further Test Moratorium *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 5
Official Reaction to Estonian Foreigners Law 5
Yeltsin Warns Estonia *[Radio Rossii]* 5
Government Expresses 'Concern' *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Stankevich Says Estonia Has Declared 'War' *[Radio Rossii]* 6
Commentary Views Relations *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 23 Jun]* 6
Kozyrev Addresses Heads of Mass Media, Discusses Issues 7
Comments on G-7 Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Threatens 'Economic Measures' Against Estonia *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Against Linking G-7 Cooperation With Japan Dispute *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Says Yeltsin To Sign Documents With Greece *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Wants Full Nuclear Test Ban Accord *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Views Indian Space Rocket Engines Deal *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Kozyrev Meets With Slovene Foreign Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Assesses Talks as 'Useful Dialogue' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 9
Addresses Journalists *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Azerbaijan *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Black Sea Sailors Oppose Fleet Division Agreement *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 10
Ukraine's Kravchuk Seen Retaining Kuchma as Scapegoat *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 11
Chernomyrdin Leaves for Kiev Talks With Kuchma, Kravchuk *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Belarusian Prime Minister's Visit Postponed *[Minsk Radio]* 11
Belarusian Envoy Interviewed on Relations *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 18 Jun]* 11
Plight of Russian Embassy in Almaty Noted *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Jun]* 14
Warships Rescue Refugees From Besieged Georgian Town *[Moscow TV]* 15
Government Outlines Terms for Bosnian Settlement *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Foreign Ministry Official Supports UN Peacekeeping Role *[Moscow International]* 16
WGF's Alleged Mafia Links Denied *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
French Armed Forces Chief of Staff Holds Talks in Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Jun]* 16
Meets With Deputy Defense Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
Deputy Energy Minister Denies DPRK Uranium Smuggling *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 27 Jun]* 17
Commentary Assesses Cambodian Situation After Elections *[Moscow International]* 17

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Constitution Issues

Shakhray's Working Group Resumes Session 23 Jun *[Russian TV]* 19
Draft To Be Ready 24 Jun *[Radio Rossii]* 19
Working Groups To Study Completed Sections *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Further on 24 Jun Meeting *[Russian TV]* 19
Constitutional Court Approves of Constitutional Assembly *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Zorkin on Constitution, Relations With Yeltsin *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 27 Jun]* 20
Filatov's Assessments of Constitution Draft Cited *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 23 Jun]* 20
Parties Criticize Constitutional Conference Procedures *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 21
Socialist Party Says Wrong Time for New Constitution *[ROSSIYA 23-29 Jun]* 21
Draft Constitution Seen Jeopardizing Democracy, Reform
[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 27 Jun] 21
Constitutional Conference Results Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 22

Political & Economic Issues

Roundup on Activities of Government Leaders *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 23 Jun]* 23
Yeltsin Strengthens Crime, Corruption Agencies *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 23 Jun]* 24
Travkin Rejects Coalitions; To Quit Civic Union *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 25
'Public Opinion Leaders' Polled on Yeltsin *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 25
Ostankino Official on Dispute With RTV *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 27
Government Pledges Support to Private Enterprise *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
More on Congress of Small Enterprises *[Russian TV]* 28
Miners Say Coal Industry on 'Brink of Collapse' *[Moscow Radio]* 29
Impact of Coal Price Deregulation Pondered *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 29

Military Issues

Arzamas-16 Workers To Protest 'Catastrophic Situation' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 29
Rally To Be Held; Work Suspended *[Moscow International]* 31
Government To Resolve Protest *[Radio Rossii]* 31
Grachev on Start of Military Exercise *[Radio Rossii]* 31
Top Officers Criticize Policy of 'Colonel Yeltsin'
[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA 18-25 Jun] 31
Deputies Group Complains About Situation in Armed Forces *[Russian TV]* 32
Note Rise in Crime Within Army *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Yeltsin Lauds Northern Fleet for Service to State *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Expert Denies Missile Telemetry Information Leak *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Jun]* 33
Pacific Fleet Takes Antipiracy Measures *[Vladivostok Radio]* 34
Defense Ministry Official Arrested for Mafia Links *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 34
Six Satellites Launched From Plesetsk *[ITAR-TASS]* 34

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Discusses Corruption; Rutskoy Attends *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Discusses Economic Situation *[Moscow TV]* 35
Further on 24 Jun Session *[Moscow Radio]* 35
President's Communications Law Returned for Improvement *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Deputies Urge Constitutional Court To Protect Rutskoy *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 23 Jun]* 36
Supreme Soviet Amends Law on Freedom of Conscience *[Moscow International]* 36
Fedorov Walks Out of Parliament Over 'Tax Police' Clash *[SEGODNYA 22 Jun]* 37

Regional Affairs

North Ossetian Situation 'Increasingly Tense' *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Russian Checkpoint Attacked *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Chernomyrdin Meets North Ossetian, Ingush Leaders *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Ingush, North Ossetian 'Tough Stand' Blocks Peace *[ITAR-TASS]* 38

Khanty-Mansiysk Begins 'Competition' for Oil Development
[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Jun] 38
Khanty-Mansiysk Leader Rejects 'Pressure' on Moscow *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 22 Jun]* 38
Shafranik Signs Agreement With Krasnoyarsk on Oil *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Jun]* 39
Chechen Vice President Urges Firing Police Heads *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Maritime Kray Administration Head Appointed *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 39
Military Industry Chief Resigns *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Jun]* 39
Caucasian Group Assails Soviet of Nationalities *[Moscow TV]* 40
Kaliningrad Suspends Federal Law on Customs Tariffs *[ITAR-TASS]* 40
Cossacks Ask Yeltsin To Let Them Have Kuril Island *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 24 Jun]* 40
Kuzbass Plant Develops High-Productivity Mining Machine *[Moscow TV]* 40
Privatization Opens New Prospects for Murmansk *[Moscow TV]* 40

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Chernomyrdin Visits; Expected To Sign Economic Agreements *[ITAR-TASS]* 42
Officers Dissatisfied With Black Sea Fleet Agreement *[Kiev International]* 42
French Project for Chernobyl Sarcophagus Detailed *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 42
UK State Minister Explains Investors' Caution *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
Estonia 'Partially' Rejects 'Neutral Belt' Proposal *[Tallinn BNS]* 43
Slovenia's Peterle Visits, Discusses Economic Cooperation *[UKRINFORM]* 43
Nation Joins Customs Cooperation Convention *[Kiev International]* 43

National Affairs

Government Agrees to Strikers' Economic Demands *[Moscow Television]* 44
Lugansk Miners Continue Strike *[Kiev International]* 44
Kharkov Industrial Workers Stage Warning Strike *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
President Orders Negotiations With Trade Unions *[Kiev International]* 44
Kravchuk Speaks at Draft Constitution Forum *[UKRINFORM]* 44
Supreme Soviet Adopts Property Treaty With Russia *[UNIAR]* 46
President's Decree Supports Crimean 'Open Economy' *[UKRINFORM]* 47

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Trade, Economic Agreement With Moldova Signed *[Minsk Radio]* 48
Shushkevich Receives DPRK Legislative Delegation *[Minsk Radio]* 48
Supreme Soviet Declares National Status of Border *[BELINFORM]* 48
Official Laments West's Response to Disarmament Initiative
[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun] 48
Economist Criticizes Government Policy Toward Russia *[DOBRY VECHAR 27 May]* 49

Moldova

Russian Troops To Withdraw When Dniester Conflict Ends *[ITAR-TASS]* 49
Snegur, Russian Envoy on Troop Withdrawal *[BASAPRESS]* 49
Snegur Sends Message to Yeltsin on Dniester Issue *[BASAPRESS]* 50
Calls Baburin's Actions in Tiraspol 'Outrageous' *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Jun]* 50
Snegur Says Military Doctrine To Be Presented 'Soon' *[BASAPRESS]* 50
Finance Minister Discusses Budget Deficit, Inflation *[BASAPRESS]* 50

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Tereshchenko Outlines Economic Problems, Measures *[KAZTAG]* 52

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Session Opens in Dushanbe *[Dushanbe Radio]* 53
Opens Amid Heavy Security *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
Olimov Meets With UK's Hogg at Human Rights Conference *[Dushanbe Radio]* 53

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Visiting Karabakh Leader Meets With Ter-Petrosyan *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Rules Out Remaining Within Azerbaijan *[ITAR-TASS]* 54

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Demands Elchibey's Return or Resignation *[Moscow TV]* 54
Postpones Session *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Mamedov Proposes Giving Aliyev 'All Presidential Powers' *[Radio Rossii]* 55
Elchibey Said To Agree to Referendum on Confidence Vote *[AZERTAC]* 55
Guseynov Message: Talks With Elchibey 'Out of Question' *[AZERTAC]* 55
Aliyev Meets U.S., Turkish Envoys for 2d Time in 5 Days *[ASSA-IRADA]* 56
Aliyev's 23 Jun National Assembly Speech *[Baku TV]* 56
Aliyev Holds 22 Jun News Conference *[Baku TV]* 57
Intellectuals Return From Nakhichevan, Meet Aliyev *[Baku Radio]* 62
National Independence Party's Mamedov on Events *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 63
Guseynov Statement Denies Reports of Pillaging *[Moscow Radio]* 64
People's Front Declares Party Has No 'Armed Groups' *[ASSA-IRADA]* 64
Elchibey Interviewed Before Departure From Baku *[Cairo AL-AHRAM 19 Jun]* 64

Georgia

Shevardnadze on NATO Involvement in Regional Conflicts *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
Shevardnadze Responds to Parliamentary Opponents *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Jun]* 66
Kavsadze: Cease-Fire Talks Lack 'Good Progress' *[Tbilisi Radio]* 67
Government Forces Shell Abkhaz Positions *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
Russian Humanitarian Aid Group Departs *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 67

BALTIC STATES

Latvia

Godmanis Interviewed on Credit Deals *[DIYENA 21 May]* 68
Trade, Economic Agreement With Romania Approved *[Riga International]* 73

Uzbek Leader Calls For International Meeting on Afghanistan

LD1806174593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1522 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Crans-Montana (Switzerland) June 18 TASS—President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan has proposed today to call a standing meeting on searching ways to stabilise the situation in Afghanistan with the participation of both representatives of the countries of the region and states and international organisations interested in this problem. Speaking at an international forum on problems of conflict situations in the world, which is held in the Swiss resort town of Crans-Montana, the Uzbek president stressed that stability in this region as a whole is unthinkable without settling the situation in Afghanistan.

When Soviet troops were in Afghanistan, Islam Karimov noted, there was hardly a day that this country did not attract the attention of mass media and politicians throughout the world. But now that the Soviet troops left Afghanistan, this country seems to be vanished from their scope, although bloodshed is continuing there, and innocent people are dying. Neighbouring Tajikistan has also found itself in the zone of instability.

The head of the Uzbek state draw attention of the participants of the forum to the fact that the negative development of the events in Afghanistan is fraught with the danger for the European continent as well, as this will mean growing export of extremism and drug trafficking to other countries. To close eyes to this danger is a serious mistake, Islam Karimov pointed out.

ILO's Labor Conference Ends 80th Session

LD2206195393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1813 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva June 22 TASS—The 80th session of the International Labor Conference of the International Labor Organization (ILO) ended here today after discussing labor safety, social protection and relations between the state, the labor and the capital.

The three-weeks-long forum adopted a convention on the prevention of major industrial accidents and a number of resolutions on acute problems of labor relations, approved the budget and program for 1994-1995 and elected members of the ILO Executive Council for a three-year term.

The conference was attended by Russian Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan, head of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions Igor Klochkov and Vice-President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Vladimir Kolmogorov.

The ILO, which was formed in 1919 and now has 166 member-states (four of them joined the organization after late May, 1993), confirmed its striving to help improve life and labor conditions and encourage social partnership between governments, the working people and businessmen.

A resolution on social protection, curtailment of unemployment and poverty adopted by the forum stressed the need to prevent negative consequences of economic reforms in developing nations and countries under transition to the market economy.

Russia's relations with the ILO should be based on a pragmatic, instead of ideological, basis, Russian Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan told ITAR-TASS. Being a member of the International Labor Organization, Russia wants practical benefit.

The current cooperation is not as efficient as it might be, said the minister. Projects developed by ILO experts often bring no results in Russia. At the same time, the organization has plenty of interesting projects, which could do good to the Russian Federation.

When meeting ILO leadership, the Russian delegation raised the question of expanding the ILO Moscow office to increase its efficiency.

Representatives of the Russian Government and working people were elected members of the ILO Executive Council.

EC Summit Shows Move Toward E. European, Russian Integration

LD2206213793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The two-day European Community summit has closed in Copenhagen, (?with) East European and Russian integration into the Community set high on the conference's agenda. And more about this from Sergey Sayenko, and this is what he writes:

Relations between the European Community and the countries of what used to be known as the Socialist Bloc is much more complicated than may seem at first glance. Political dialogue between the Community and Eastern Europe presents no special problems, while trade and overall economic relations abound in problems.

Some three or four years ago, Western Europe was enthusiastic over the fall of the communist governments in central and eastern Europe, and promised the former socialist countries a regular rose garden.

A more differentiating approach has since replaced euphoria, and Russia can't be found on a list of the EC proteges. Some analysts tend to hold two things accountable for the Community's cool approach to Russia. First, Russia is still posing as a superpower in relations with the West. And secondly, Russia has retained its centralized economic planning. In the Community's view, this

calls for discrimination in trade, the introduction of special trade tariffs, and the imposition of all kinds of restrictions on the performance by Russian-based firms. And the European Community remembers only too well, Russia has not yet joined GATT.

Opportunism in cooperation with Russia and other East European countries can be explained by the outdated stereotypes of relations with the Socialist Bloc. Much, however, has changed in the former socialist countries, although these countries are experiencing economic difficulties and their political reforms are making painful progress. It's high time the West realized they will not return to communist rule and that Russia displays no ambition to play the role of a superpower in international relations. Its leaders have repeatedly said as much, which does not mean the West can indulge in muscle-flexing.

Relations with Russia and other East European countries must be based on equality and mutual respect, even though the East European economies are crying out for Western aid.

Taking into account the problems of today, one should bear in mind the current problems are transitory, and look into the future. Western Europe seems to be realizing this. The leaders of the European Community member countries agreed in Copenhagen to open their common market to more exports from central and eastern Europe. And the 12 leaders agreed a new impetus must be given to economic negotiations with Russia. The Copenhagen conference seems to have found it possible to integrate European countries—primarily Hungary, Poland, Czechia, and Slovakia—into the European Community. Hopefully the Community will find a way to act on these decisions.

Moscow Opposes Politicization of New Black Sea Community

PM2306131393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Russia Against Politicization of Black Sea Community"]

[Text] The parliamentary assembly and the meeting of foreign ministers of the states belonging to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone [BSECZ], which ended in Istanbul last week, convince us that the idea of an economic community has a real basis and is capable of uniting even rival states.

Set up in June 1992, the BSECZ embraces Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Georgia, Turkey, and Greece.

After approving the BSECZ charter, the leaders of the foreign policy departments agreed on the structure and composition of a secretariat designed to coordinate cooperation. According to available data, a specialist diplomat from Russia will soon be confirmed as its director.

The ministers succeeded in bringing closer the realization of another plan—the creation of the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank, whose major shareholders will be Greece, Russia, and Turkey. The location of the bank's headquarters remains a stumbling block—Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece claim the right to it. Russia's sympathies on this matter are known to be with the Greeks, who have proposed Salonika—which serves as further proof of the recently apparent rapprochement between Moscow and Athens which is to culminate in B. Yeltsin's upcoming visit to Greece.

The parliamentary assembly of the BSECZ also acquired a secretariat headed by Faik Kaytandzhi [name as transliterated], a Turk. His deputy is Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Deputy Grigoriy Zhukov. The assembly formed an economic, a cultural, and a political-legal commission. The creation of the latter was of concern to the Russian representatives, who are seeking to prevent politicization of the BSECZ's activity. Attempts have, however, already been made to submit regional conflicts for discussion: Petre Lucinschi, head of the Moldovan parliament, unsuccessfully proposed examining the problem of the Dniester region. In the future Moscow will obviously seek to prevent such debates from arising.

Russia's official arguments are as follows: The discussion of political issues at the parliamentary assembly could split the members of the BSECZ, paralyze the activities of its working organs, and detract from economic problems. In addition, the United Nations, the CSCE, and other international organizations are already involved in settling regional crises. "The chief task of Black Sea parliamentarians is to harmonize the legislation of the 11 states in the economic and financial spheres so as to assist the development of the regional market," an informed Russian diplomat believes.

Something more undoubtedly lies behind these arguments. Moscow is gradually assuming the role of chief arbiter in Karabakh, Abkhazia, and the Dniester region and does not wish for competition from anyone. In addition, people in the Kremlin and on Smolenskaya Square [Foreign Ministry building] do not want the BSECZ, which was created on Turkey's initiative, to be turned into a tool for the expansion of Ankara's political influence in the region.

CIS Officials Hold Meeting on 'Confidential' Communications

LD2306202093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Video report by correspondent Sergey Balakhonov—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Protection of one's state, military, and commercial secrets is a sphere of concern to the young sovereign countries, former USSR republics.

[Balakhonov] Plenipotentiary representatives of the CIS countries adopted in Moscow today the rules and other documents dictated by mutual interests in the field of preserving a single protected information space. Television communications, encrypting facilities and their use in the systems of government and confidential departmental communications are involved. Today was the first and founding sitting of the coordinating council. This was an important stage in the process—which is far from being simple—of agreeing and working out common approaches to this delicate problem.

Academician Aleksandr Starovoytov, general director of the federal agency of government communications and information under the Russian president, has become the chairman of the coordinating council for the next two years.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Jun

LD2406082293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0354 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—Developments in Estonia and Azerbaijan are highlighted by most Moscow-based newspapers on Thursday.

The military RED STAR newspaper writes that the adoption of the Estonian law on foreigners has sharply aggravated relations with Russia as the Russian-speaking community in the Baltic state who have no Estonian citizenship turns into "illegal immigrants." The newspaper says that such a situation will force the Russian speakers to resort to civilian disobedience.

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA warned that developments in the Baltics "can go along the Yugoslav scenario". The paper recalls that Estonia is advancing territorial claims to Russia by announcing its intention to restore the republic in the borders of 1920 and qualifies the recently adopted law on foreigners as "apotheosis of the actions of estonian leadership". It quotes Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin as saying that Russia does not accept any territorial claims.

The same newspaper as well as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, PRAVDA and others write about the aggravation of the situation in Azerbaijan. It is noted that President Abulfaz Elchibey does not want to abandon his shelter in the native village of Kalaki in Nakhichevan and that rebels of Suret Guseynov are gradually taking under control the capital of Azerbaijan. PRAVDA quotes Geydar Aliyev as denying allegations about Russian involvement in the developments and about "merging of former Communist nomenklatura with military structures".

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes the third big article of parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov of late in which he analyses the Russian history and arrives to a conclusion that current reform in Russia has no future.

The visit of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Kiev which begins today will show the true results of the recent Russian- Ukrainian summit in Moscow, according to the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. Although the two leaders were satisfied with the results of the summit, a week has passed and there are no signs that the situation on the Black Sea Fleet is normalising, the daily said. It predicted that it would be hard for Chernomyrdin to hold talks in Kiev because "in the corridors of power in Kiev they are not yet sure about their own authority".

In an article in the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Rafael Khakimov, an aide to the president of Tatarstan, accused the constitutional assembly of "attempts to limit the sovereignty of republics" under the pretext of ensuring equal rights of the subjects of the federation. He said that the triumph of "a mechanical majority" at the assembly causes deep disappointment in the emerging democratic norms.

Success of Chernomyrdin U.S. Visit Doubtful

PM2306183793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Success of V. Chernomyrdin's Visit to the United States in Jeopardy"]

[Text] Washington—Three days before Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's working visit to the United States is due to begin, there is no complete assurance that the visit will be successful.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, who headed the group preparing the visit and who on Sunday took a chartered flight to Washington, confident that he would be able to resolve all the problems very quickly, flew back on a scheduled flight to Moscow having conducted a series of intensive talks in the State Department and the White House, essentially, empty-handed. The task of completing the work of smoothing over problems has fallen to embassy officials and the advance party who remained behind in Washington.

As far as I understand it, the main problem is the same as before: The Americans are trying to prevent us from delivering missile technology to India, threatening Moscow with major sanctions, first and foremost with pulling out of space cooperation projects which could earn us millions, even billions of dollars.

The Americans have proven to be as hard as nails: If they did retreat at all from their demands and threats, it was only by a millimeter—and that is certainly not sufficient to ensure the success, or even simply the productiveness, of our premier's visit. In point of fact, several agreements had already been prepared especially for this visit, which Viktor Chernomyrdin could have signed. For example, agreements on deliveries to Russia of various agricultural products, which were promised to Boris Yeltsin by William Clinton in Vancouver. But these are secondary agreements in comparison with those for which the visit of the premier, who is cochairman together with U.S. Vice President Albert Gore of the Commission for Power Engineering and Space established in Vancouver, was originally planned.

To judge by certain signs, the visit will go ahead anyway: Too much effort has been put into its preparation to sound a full retreat now. But in terms of its results, the visit will be truncated—if, of course, Chernomyrdin himself does not manage to wring compromises out of the Americans on the issue of missile technology.

There is conjecture that, if Chernomyrdin does not meet with success either, the decision will be postponed until the Yeltsin-Clinton meeting in Tokyo within the framework of the G-7 summit.

But there are silver linings in the clouds which have somewhat cast a shadow over our relations. Literally at the same time as the dispute over missiles for India erupted, the Pentagon made the virtually historic decision that members of the military attache's office will be allowed entry to the U.S. Defense Department building. According to the WASHINGTON TIMES, the decision was adopted on the initiative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by agreement with the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Naturally, our military will not be granted complete freedom. Only two members of the attache's office will be given unrestricted access, and they will have to notify the DIA in advance of each visit. During a visit to the Pentagon they must wear Russian military uniform. So there is no reason to fear that military diplomats, who are all to a man suspected by Washington of belonging to the Main Intelligence Directorate, will try to "lose themselves" in the labyrinth of the Pentagon's corridors and steal Pentagon secrets. Our uniform can be spotted from a way off.

Visit Reportedly Canceled

LD2406081293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] INTERFAX has learned from circles close to the Russian Government that Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the United States, due to have begun on 26 June, is being canceled due to the fact that some aspects of the economic relations between both countries have not been settled.

Spokesman Announces Postponement

LD2406100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 24 Jun—The visit by Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of the Russian Federation Government, to the United States, which was scheduled to be held at the end of this month, has been postponed. This was reported by Gennadiy Petelin, head of the Russian prime minister's secretariat. According to him, the reason for the postponement is connected with the need to study individual issues of relations between Russia and the United States and to prepare for the forthcoming Russian-American summit in a more thorough way.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin has reported that unsettled problems will evidently be submitted to the meeting between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton in Tokyo on 10 July. "We had to exclude the unsettled issues from the agenda or postpone the visit," Aleksandr Shokhin said, "after consultations we decided to aim at a result rather than a schedule."

Shokhin Cuts Short U.S. Visit; Not 'Emergency'

LD2306204293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] AFP reported today that Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government has broken off his visit to America and returned to Moscow. The deputy prime minister was in Washington preparing Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to America at the end of June.

A representative of the Russian Government has said that the reasons behind Aleksandr Shokhin's return to Moscow are important, but it is not regarded as an emergency.

Joint U.S.-Russian Chamber of Commerce Set Up

LD2406084493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0630 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Barsukov]

[Text] Washington June 24 TASS—The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce is the name of a new organisation of business circles from both countries which declared in Washington on Wednesday that it is beginning operations.

The chamber intends to assist in developing trade and economic cooperation between the United States and Russia.

At a news conference held at the National Press Club to mark the creation of the chamber, its President Irene Lewis read out messages sent to members of the new organisation by U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore and deputy chairman of the Russian Government Aleksandr Shokhin.

In his message, Gore said he was greatly interested in and supported the initiative. These attempts to assist the growing Russian market economy were of great significance and would bring about new opportunities for American and Russian business people. It would also assist the historical movement towards privatisation and democracy in Russia.

Shokhin commented that he hoped this new organisation would make an important contribution towards uniting the efforts of state and private companies, business people and all those interested in the future development of trade and economic dialogue between the U.S. and Russia. He expressed the wish that the chamber would concentrate on helping business people of both countries in improving contacts and attracting investments in the Russian economy from the United States. He also assured those present that the Russian Government fully supported the initiative.

The headquarters of the chamber are in New York, and it will have offices in Washington, Denver, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Representatives of the Russian and American business world are amongst the staff of the leading bodies of this new organisation.

Antinuclear Groups Urge Further Test Moratorium

PM2306161793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 7

[Untitled "Own Information" report under "Inform" rubric]

[Text] All nuclear test sites on our planet are silent at the moment. However, the moratorium announced by Russia and the United States expires 1 July this year. In a bid to remove the nuclear threat, a campaign to gather signatures on an appeal to Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin demanding the extension of the nuclear test moratorium has been started by the following groups: the "Civil Peace" association, the "For Novaya Zemlya" ["K Novoy Zemle"] Movement for Ecological Safety, the Russian committee of the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War," the Coordination and Information Center of the international organization "Social and Ecological Union," the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, the Club To Assist UN Peacekeeping Operations, and the League of Green Parties Coordinating Council.

Official Reaction to Estonian Foreigners Law

Yeltsin Warns Estonia

LD2406111893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Russia has no intention of tolerating any encroachments upon the legitimate rights of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia—this is stressed in a statement from the Russian president issued by his press service.

The law on foreigners adopted in Estonia, as well as other actions restricting the rights of the Russian-speaking population, are unfriendly toward Russia, the document states. The Russian leadership will adopt all necessary measures to protect its national interests and to protect the Russian-speaking population against arbitrariness.

Relevant departments have been issued with instructions on this score. Calling upon the Estonian side to revise its position toward Russians, Boris Yeltsin warns that the entire responsibility for possible violations of civil peace in Estonia may be borne by the Estonian leadership.

Government Expresses 'Concern'

LD2306121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1155 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselsky]

[Text] Moscow, June 23 (TASS)—The foreigners act which was adopted in Estonia on Tuesday arouses Russia's particular concern, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin told a press conference here on Wednesday.

The Russian side hoped that Estonia would take a civilised, democratic road in addressing no easy problems connected with a large proportion of the non-Estonian population who have lived for years and continue to live in Estonia, he said.

"It was precisely in the spirit of seeking a calm, civilised solution to the problems that we maintained all our contacts with representatives of the Estonian leadership," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"It seemed that the Estonian side expressed understanding of the importance of the problem and agreed with us that it must be tackled in a civilised, not confrontational, manner. However, actual deeds, to our suprise, often turned out to be of a quite different nature.

"Unfortunately, the Estonian authorities came to regard their accession to the Council of Europe as a certain signal for an offensive and for those actions with regard to the Russian-speaking population, which, as one now has to state with bitterness, constitute the essence of their state policy on this issue, which is the most important one to Estonia and Russo-Estonian relations," Churkin pointed out.

Now that the foreigners act has become a reality, Churkin said, Russia will continue to react to it most seriously. Ambassador Alexey Glukhov, a personal envoy of the Russian foreign minister, is to go to Tallinn on Thursday with Andrey Kozyrev's message to his Estonian counterpart.

Glukhov will be also received by the president of Estonia. Along with taking a number of moves aimed at resolving the issue concerning the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, the Russian Foreign Ministry together with other departments is busy working out a package of political, economic and other measures for a possible influence on Estonia.

"We shall present appropriate proposals to the president of Russia who follows the development of the situation most attentitively," the Russiasn diplomat said.

In response to journalists' questions, Churkin said "there are no territorial problems for Russia in Europe."

Stankevich Says Estonia Has Declared 'War'

LD2406080893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] With the adoption of the law on foreigners, a war has been declared to oust the Russian diaspora in Estonia, reads a statement by Sergey Stankevich, advisor to the Russian president. A cold war, the statement notes, has also been declared against Russia itself. In Sergey Stankevich's view, responsibility for the consequences of this act will rest with extremist circles and the Estonian leadership and also with those figures of Western countries whose policies have, in fact, pushed Estonia onto the path of ethnic cleansing.

Earlier, the Russian minister of foreign affairs and other Russian diplomats warned that Moscow is working out appropriate measures in response to Estonia's action.

Commentary Views Relations

MK2306112493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko commentary under "Russian-Estonian Relations" column: "Russians in Estonia Getting Ready for Civil Disobedience"]

[Text] Late Monday night the Estonian State Assembly by a vote of 59 to 3 passed a law "On Foreigners." Although the final text of the law differs from its original version (on which KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported 19 June), this did not change its discriminatory essence in relation to the 500,000 Russian-speaking population. The passage of this law has sharply aggravated Estonia's relations with Russia, which, according to Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, is ready "to do everything to make sure that Russians in the Baltic states are respected."

The discussion of the law "On Foreigners" in the Estonian parliament proceeded in an atmosphere of an anti-Russian campaign initiated by nationalist parties and movements. In particular, Deputy Tijt Made in the course of parliamentary debate compared Estonia to a "cultivated garden plot," and the Russian-speaking minority to "vermin ants" that must be forced from it. Most observers—both Estonian and foreign—believe that at present, government circles in Estonia have been swayed by the following viewpoint: "The way to get rid of the Russians is to make their life increasingly unbearable morally." At the same time, the Estonian authorities completely ignore the fact that for a majority of the Russian-speakers Estonia has become a native land (many third-generation Russian-speakers live here), and that few of them intend to leave the country and become refugees. Moreover, a considerable part of non-Estonians up until recently were not in opposition to the government's course, while in the 1991 referendum 40 percent of non-Estonians supported the republic's secession from the USSR.

In this context the Russian-speaking population, which regards the passage of the law as a "declaration of war on the part of the authorities," intends to start civil disobedience actions. As KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent has learned in Narva, where nearly 95 percent of the residents are Russian-speakers, everything is ready for a stoppage of enterprises and an indefinite strike. It is expected that the Estonian and Baltic hydropower stations, supplying the republic with electricity, will stop work. City residents are also going to block the operation

of the border transport facility. It is not ruled out that in areas of concentrated settlements of Russian-speakers (primarily Narva, Sillamyae, and a number of adjacent areas) a referendum will be held on the issue of seceding their from Estonia and joining Russia. The Estonian authorities, concerned by this situation, are trying to maneuver—yesterday representatives of the Russian-speaking population were received by Prime Minister Mart Laar. The negotiations took place behind closed doors, and as of the moment of publication no information was available about their results.

The passage of the law "On Foreigners" has brought about a sharp deterioration in Russian-Estonian relations. The signs are thatthis time Moscow is ready to take decisive measures to protect the interests of the Russian-speaking minority. As Vitaliy Churkin said yesterday, a package of "serious diplomatic, political, and possibly not only political measures with regard to Estonia" was being reviewed. This could involve, for instance, another suspension of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia, stripping it of Most Favored Nation status in trade with Russia, and discontinuation of talks on unfreezing Estonian assets in Vneshekonombank ($70 million). Aleksey Glukhov, director of the Foreign Affairs Ministry's European department, will tomorrow fly to Tallinn to discuss these questions and to give a personal message from Andrey Kozyrev. In any event the impression is that Russia is now intent on dealing with the problems at hand within the framework of bilateral relations without resorting to the offices of the CSCE or the Council of Europe, whose position with regard to Estonia is based on a "double standard."

[Article is accompanied by following boxed passage]

Possible measures of organized resistance by the Russian-speaking population to the enforcement of the law "On Foreigners" (forecast by the Representative Assembly of Russian-Speaking Residents of the Estonian Republic)

Open civil disobedience, conflicts with the authorities, including armed resistance to deportation.

Latent disobedience, sabotage—stoppage of the Estonian and the Baltic hydropower station, which supply the republic with electricity; blockade of the border transport junction in Narva; and the development of underground administrative and economic structures.

Referendum, monitored by the United Nations and the CSCE, in Narva and adjacent areas where the Russian-speaking population constitutes over 90 percent, on secession from Estonia and accession to Russia.

Mass emigration from the areas of potential conflicts, not only to Russia but also to the West.

Kozyrev Addresses Heads of Mass Media, Discusses Issues

Comments on G-7 Relations

LD2306142193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1412 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Wednesday that Russia is to be open for cooperation with the world and "feels its adherence to the "G-7" club of democratic states".

Addressing heads of mass media, Kozyrev admitted that the dialogue with industrialised nations is not an easy one. "The transition from the inevitable phase of first acquaintance and the establishment of partnership relations in the form of declarations to the language of practical work now encounters difficulties", he stressed.

Russia has to occupy its place on the "sensitive" markets of space research, nuclear and military ones. "Without partnership and allied relations in politics nobody would let us enter the markets", he said, adding that the major objective of the Russian foreign policy is to create favourable international conditions for Russian transformations.

Another major task of the Russian foreign policy is to create a "belt of good neighbours" around the country which is to include former Soviet republics, China, Korea and the United States.

Kozyrev said that over the past years "non-ideological" relations were restored with China and India. He regretted that Russia cannot boast the same achievement regarding Japan, but stressed that "quiet and goal-oriented work" is being carried out to solve the problem (of disputed islands) on the basis of lawfulness and justice. He added that there are conditions for partnership with Japan.

The minister accused Estonia of "aggressive nationalism" against ethnic Russians which manifested itself again in the adoption of the law on foreigners and said that "the Estonian situation calls for a sharp reaction".

Threatens 'Economic Measures' Against Estonia

LD2306153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev qualified Estonian law on foreigners as "apartheid" against the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic state and said Russia is planning to retaliate with economic sanctions.

Kozyrev also said that the Council of Europe gave an "indulgence for the continuation of the practice" of violations of human rights by admitting Estonia as its member.

"Now we would like the Council of Europe to think once again about the existing situation. One of its new members is embarking on the path, I am not afraid to exaggerate, of apartheid, as a third of the population is proclaimed foreigners, and of ethnic cleansing as the third is facing the threat of being driven out of the country", he told heads of mass media on Wednesday.

The minister said a corresponding appeal was forwarded to the Council of Europe right after Estonia passed the law on foreigners.

"Now I am not going to conceal that we are considering additional economic measures to make the Estonian leadership turn to a more reasonable way of actions", Kozyrev said.

Against Linking G-7 Cooperation With Japan Dispute

LD2306160593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1517 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is against interlinking Russian cooperation with the "G-7" and the territorial dispute with Japan at the coming summit in Tokyo and said the bilateral problems are to be solved during mutual visits.

"Any shift of the two aspects or adding of bilateral problems to the meeting will undoubtedly impede the solution of bilateral (Russian-Japanese) problems," he told heads of mass media on Wednesday.

A strict borderline should divide the "G-7" summit, the meetings of the Russian president with leaders of the industrialised nations in Tokyo with the discussion of any bilateral problems, he stressed, adding however that it is not a Russian ultimatum or an unimplementable claim.

Kozyrev said that Japan also has problems in relations with the United States and Europe, however, if the problems are discussed at the summit the "G-7" will simply not be able to work.

The minister added that bilateral problems are to be solved during "mutual visits and we continue to calmly prepare the visit of Boris Yeltsin to Japan."

"As soon as it takes place all bilateral problems will be discussed in full scope," he stressed, adding that development of relations with Japan is a Russian foreign policy priority.

Says Yeltsin To Sign Documents With Greece

LD2306160693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1514 GMT 23 jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—"Greece belongs to countries of priority importance in the Russian foreign policy," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said at a meeting with heads of leading bodies of the Russian mass media on Wednesday. He said that the Russian president's visit to Greece scheduled to take place earlier, had been postponed because of the need to resolve urgent problems. "The possibility of paying the visit at present shows that certain stability has been reached in Russia's foreign and home affairs," Kozyrev said.

The priority of Greece can be accounted for by the fact that this Balkan country has "a rich spiritual heritage which brings the two countries close together," the foreign minister said.

According to Kozyrev, during Yeltsin's visit to Greece a treaty on friendship and partnership is expected to be signed and some 5-7 documents will be worked out, pertaining to military cooperation. "The last issue is of special importance for Moscow, since at issue is one of NATO countries, and a breakthrough in this direction is desirable for Russia," Kozyrev pointed out.

Wants Full Nuclear Test Ban Accord

LD2306161193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1525 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Russia "will be the last to resume nuclear tests," Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Wednsday expressing hope that an agreement may be reached with the United States on a complete and universal test ban.

Addressing heads of Russian mass media he said a formula may be worked out which will allow "not to begin another round of tests, but to move to an agreement on their complete and universal ban."

The minister said this can be achieved through bilateral negotiation channels and the Geneva conference on disarmament.

However, he warned that if any country resumes nuclear tests Russia will follow suit.

"I would not like that even a limited round of tests is held. It is clear that in the nuclear age it is hard to expect that some countries conduct such a round while others refrain from it completely," Kozyrev said.

Views Indian Space Rocket Engines Deal

LD2306161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1540 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Russia and the United States are obliged to reach an acceptable solution to the dispute over Russian shipments of cryogenic rocket engines to India, according to Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who said the problem is of a technical character.

Russian experts view the shipments differently than US colleagues who believe the deal to be a violation of the non-proliferation regime for missile technologies, Kozyrev told heads of Russian mass media on Wednesday.

He stressed that Russia is even more interested in observing the regime, as well as nuclear non-proliferation than the United States as all countries which are potential producers of the weapons are situated around Russia and the CIS states.

"In this case it is a technical dispute: Whether the deal is within or outside the limits of existing agreements", Kozyrev said.

Space cooperation with the United States is a "priority Russian interest" and development of relations in the sphere can serve as an example of political partnership, the minister said, adding that intensive consultations are being held with the United States on the Indian space deal at present.

The search for a solution is going on "in a benevolent way", he stressed.

Kozyrev Meets With Slovene Foreign Minister

LD2306133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Slovenia expects Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to visit the country in the near future, according to Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle who met with his Russian counterpart on Wednesday [23 June].

The two ministers discussed bilateral relations and the settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and Kozyrev noted with satisfaction that Russian and Slovenian positions are "very close". He added that they share the same principles of the Yugoslav settlement and reject any use of force.

The countries refuse to use "the fruits received as a result of military activities", Kozyrev said.

He added that it is too early to write off the Vance-Owen plan and the Washington programme of joint actions. Russia is attentively and positively watching the talks on the problem and insists that no "dictate of force" is used during the negotiations.

According to Kozyrev, the basic principles of the settlement should go along President Yeltsin's plan of "extinguishing fire in former Yugoslavia".

Peterle agreed that the two countries are very close in their approaches to major international issues. He said the relations between the two countries are developing successfully and that the first Slovenian cultural centre abroad is to open in Moscow.

He admitted that Slovenian capabilities of solving the Yugoslav crisis are limited, but still it is doing everything it can to help settle the problem. Thus, it rendered the necessary assiatnce to 70,000 refugees mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Kozyrev added that Slovenia demonstrates a positive example in former Yugoslavia by remaining a peaceful state carrying out a stable home and foreign policy.

Assesses Talks as 'Useful Dialogue'

AU2306152993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Miha Lampreht report from Moscow]

[Text] Minister Kozyrev, who visited Ljubljana a bit over a year ago, after the talks [with Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle] stated that Slovenia was a reliable partner for Russia in the heart of Europe, in the Balkans, and on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

He recapped that Slovenia exemplifies a case of positive development on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, that it maintains a stable foreign policy and, among other things, also maintains friendly and partner-like relations with Russia with which it has recently signed many comprehensive agreements in various spheres.

The ministers exchanged opinions on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Kozyrev, among other things, stressed that the countries have a very similar approach that is based on the same principles. He described the talks with his colleague, Peterle, as a useful dialogue, from the viewpoint of the former Yugoslavia as well as in view of other European problems.

When asked by your correspondent whether the sequence of the current events in Bosnia and around it does not represent the burial of the Vance-Owen peace plan and the joint Washington agreement of the five, Minister Kozyrev replied that he could not speak of the failure of both plans, whose main objective was to find a peaceful solution to the war. The head of Russian diplomacy believes that the negotiating process of the warring sides should be viewed—within the limits of the agreed principles—carefully and generally positively. He emphasized the need to seek a balance of interests that will create the conditions for coexistence of all communities within a unified Bosnian state. According to Kozyrev, this matches completely with the Russian concept, that is, the initiative of President Yeltsin on a gradual ending of the conflict in Bosnia. Kozyrev favors development of the negotiating process on the basis of both initiatives as well as with the special participation of negotiators Owen and Stoltenberg.

Today, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a special statement consisting of seven points that, among other things, hails the first round of the Geneva negotiations. The statement reiterates the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina's territorial integrity through the acknowledgement of the interests of all three communities,

regardless of the agreement on internal organization—federation or confederation.

After the talks, Minister Lojze Peterle assessed that the cooperation between the states is developing nicely, that there are no gray areas, and that it comprises of active and constructive dialogue. He pointed out the joint principles for the ending of the war in Bosnia and expressed hope for the resolution of the conflict and the prevention of its proliferation to other territories. The Slovene Minister, who is accompanied by State Secretary Vojka Ravbar, also held talks in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and met with (?Arkadiy Volsky), representative of the Russian entrepreneurs and industrialists. The Slovene economy is expected to widen cooperation with Russian partners this year.

Lojze Peterle and the members of the Slovene delegation left Moscow this afternoon for the first official visit to Ukraine.

Addresses Journalists

LD2306141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1327 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jun—"We are closely following the development of events in Azerbaijan. Any actions fraught with armed confrontation and bloodshed have painful repercussions in Russia," Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in response to questions from journalists at the end of his meeting with Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle today.

Kozyrev stressed: "We consider Azerbaijan to be a friendly state and have great sympathy for its people. We are sure that all the political forces have sufficient will and responsibility to keep the process within the framework of the law and ensure that residents' rights are protected, including those of the Russian-speaking population." Andrey Kozyrev expressed the hope that Azerbaijan will overcome all these difficulties in the near future and be Russia's partner in peaceful cooperation.

The minister categorically denied fabrications by certain political figures in Azerbaijan that the events in the republic had been inspired from Russia. "Russia has not inspired anying, apart from the plan for settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem," he stressed. "We are counting upon all three sides respecting this plan and not let slip the opportunity for political settlement it offers." In Andrey Kozyrev's opinion, events in this region are "a flare up of aggressive nationalism seeking distorted ways of resolving nationalities problems without taking account of the interests of other peoples." It has to be hoped that no side will succumb to the temptation to take advantage of the other side's temporary difficulties. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem cannot be resolved by force, he stressed.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Azerbaijan

LD2406092393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0919 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry circulated a statement on Thursday on the situation in Azerbaijan. The statement says the following:

"Moscow is closely and with concern following the situation in Azerbaijan. The present confrontation should be settled on the constitutional basis and in the spirit of legality and protection of human rights. Foreign interference from any side is inadmissible.

"The crisis needs the earliest peaceful solution. The more so, since an important step towards a political settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh has been made: Baku, Yerevan and Stepanakert expressed agreement with the plan of fulfilling resolution 822 of the U.N. Security Council, which was put forth by nine states participating in the Minsk group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"Thus, mediation initiatives and efforts of Russia, backed by the United States, Turkey and other countries, are becoming justified.

"A road to stopping the tragic conflict which has brought so much evil to the Azeri and Armenian peoples, is opening. Bloodshed and destruction must be stopped.

"Russia will actively promote the implementation of achieved understandings and calls on other states to do the same, especially participants in the CSCE."

Black Sea Sailors Oppose Fleet Division Agreement

PM2306134393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Nikolay Musiyenko report: "Black Sea Fleet Being Destroyed for the Third Time"]

[Text] As Sevastopol's "Omega-polis" private radio station has reported, a Committee of Black Sea Fleet Seamen in Defense of the Fleet's Unity has been formed in the Black Sea Fleet. Its first act was an appeal to the personnel of the Black Sea Fleet, which was circulated in ships and shore units.

An agreement on the accelerated division of the Black Sea Fleet was signed on 17 June of this year, this document says. And 75 years ago, 18 June 1918, Black Sea Fleet ships were sunk so that Germany could not captured them. At that time the signal "I will perish rather than surrender!" was raised above them. History is repeating itself. At the decision of politicians, the "excessively big Black Sea Fleet" will finally be doomed to destruction for the third time. (It was first sunk during the Crimean War, but on that occasion too this was dictated by strict necessity—N.M.). "The forest brothers

from Belovezhskaya Forest," as the Black Sea Fleet officers call the two presidents, have ignored the opinion of the Crimean Supreme Soviet, the Sevastopol City Soviet, the Black Sea Fleet seamen, and the overwhelming majority of the peninsula's inhabitants. The question of Sevastopol's status has not even been discussed. They want to divide us 50/50, without taking into consideration the fact that Ukraine has already unilaterally "grabbed" over 25 percent of the fleet. All this is happening with the tacit consent of the Russian Navy Main Staff.

The committee has called on officers who have maintained allegiance to their oath to prevent the shameful surrender of the fleet and boycott the said agreement.

Ukraine's Kravchuk Seen Retaining Kuchma as Scapegoat

MK2306115093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[Vitaliy Portnikov report: "State of Economic Emergency in Ukraine To Be Lifted. Why Was it That Leonid Kravchuk Agreed With Leonid Kuchma"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] What was it that made Leonid Kravchuk revoke his edict "On Setting up the Economic Emergency Committee," apart from Leonid Kuchma's firm resistance? To all appearances, Leonid Kravchuk did not want to give up his prime minister at a time when he was to assume direct responsibility for all the republic's economic woes, which was precisely what could have happened had the edict remained in force. By issuing the edict, Leonid Kravchuk took on full responsibility for the government's economic policies. Nonetheless, even one day before the edict was repealed, the Ukrainian president was willing to make some amendments to the text of the edict, but did not see why it should be revoked completely. In Kravchuk's view, at this stage the government is formed by the president and the parliament and should therefore implement the policy worked out by the president and the Supreme Soviet. Kravchuk's final decision was evidently influenced by the stance taken by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch, who admitted the existence of a crisis in the republic's executive branch and said that the crisis should be resolved along constitutional lines. As the Ukrainian parliament speaker sees it, he does not have the influence on the Ukraine Supreme Soviet deputies attributed to him by the mass media; it was apparently this "neutrality" of the Supreme Soviet chairman that Kravchuk perceived as a clear sign that his edict may be blocked by the parliamentarians. The president, however, plainly did not want to set off a new spiral of confrontation with the parliament right after it took them so much effort to suspend the Donbass strike.

At the same time, it is unclear what the president's further action will be with merely three months to go before the referendum on his and the parliament's future. The parliamentarians themselves are convinced that their fate is sealed and speak more and more often at their sessions about a no-confidence vote their voters will give them. The president, however, if he is to achieve any positive results at the referendum, must bring about at least some improvement. A tactic whereby the prime minister is held responsible for everything that is going on in the country and then dismissed, which worked perfectly well in the case of Vitold Fokin and which seemed to be designed for Leonid Kuchma's tenure, may not work again: After all, it is the president and not the government that will have to go through the referendum sieve.

Chernomyrdin Leaves for Kiev Talks With Kuchma, Kravchuk

LD2306211193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2047 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun— Russian Federation Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin leaves today for a short working visit to Kiev. He is scheduled to hold talks with Leonid Kuchma, the head of the Ukrainian cabinet, and to meet with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

The Russian and Ukrainian premiers will sign a number of intergovernmental agreements. Those are expected to include an agreement on free trade that was initialled by the deputy prime ministers of Russia and Ukraine during Leonid Kravchuk's recent visit to Moscow.

Belarusian Prime Minister's Visit Postponed

LD2206183593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Vyachaslaw Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has postponed the planned visit to Moscow for a meeting with Viktor Chernomyrdin, leader of the Russian government. It has become known that the meeting between the prime ministers of Belarus and Russia has been switched to a different date at the request of the Russian side, due to an unexpected illness of Chernomyrdin.

Belarusian Envoy Interviewed on Relations

PM2306101793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 7

[Interview with Belarusian Ambassador to Moscow Viktor Danilenko by Aleksandr Bondar in Moscow; date not given: "Viktor Danilenko: 'Argument Is a Good Thing, When Its Goal Is Compromise.' The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Belarus Answers ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's Questions"]

[Text] [Bondar] Mister ambassador, you are familiar with Moscow as the capital of a common state. But now you are abroad. Do you feel as if you are in another state's capital? Was it difficult to begin to think of what was once a whole as separate parts?

[Danilenko] I am not only familiar with Moscow as it was—the capital of a common state. I have been living here permanently since 1980. First of all I was USSR minister of rural construction, then deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. Since 1989 I have been the plenipotentiary representative of the Belarusian Council of Ministers. And since January 1993 I have been Belarusian ambassador to Russia.

I must say that Moscow is a city which is not foreign to me, and together with Muscovites I share in its troubles, joys, and hopes. I do not see the former integrated whole as separate and isolated parts. We are still living next door to each other. The only difference is that the internal mechanisms governing interaction between the parts of the whole are changing radically.

[Bondar] Could you assess in a few words the situation in the CIS after the May meeting in Moscow? Did the Commonwealth set about curing its ills in earnest or could there be relapses? For example Russia and Ukraine are again quarreling over the Black Sea Fleet, and Almaty was recently very offended by a television broadcast from Moscow on the situation of Kazakhstan's Russian-speaking citizens...

[Danilenko] I am convinced that it set about curing its ills in earnest. A CIS Coordination and Consultative Committee has finally been formed and an executive secretary has been appointed. A decision on a program to prepare draft documents on the future strengthening of the CIS has been adopted. The chairman of the CIS Economic Court has been confirmed. Everything is moving in the direction of decisions not only being adopted—as has been the case up till now—but also of their being carried out. Well, nobody is immune to crises.

We can curse, get offended, and argue as much as we like. It is not that which is terrible. It is a tragedy when instead of arguments Kalashnikov assault rifles come into play. But getting offended and arguing is a good thing. Then compromises and sensible decisions are made.

[Bondar] Independence does not have to mean isolating oneself—many former USSR republics have discovered this truth in recent months. But Belarus, and perhaps Kazakhstan, were calling for cooperation back in the first moments after the "divorce". Given the general euphoria at obtaining their sovereignty, where did this common sense, and political and economic sobriety come from?

[Danilenko] There certainly was euphoria and it is still not over in some places. Several republics became literally "drunk" on freedom and forgot that over 70 plus years the knot of common problems had pulled tighter and tighter around the economy. Where, to use a Christian term, they had "succumbed to temptation" after tasting the sweetness of state sovereignty, they resolutely rushed to break away. But they very soon felt that the grandeur of full autonomy begins and ends at the level of the heads of state. Be so kind as to explain for whom the stoppages at the plant in Zhodino are profitable! Yekaterinburg component suppliers periodically make deliveries to the BelAZ plant. Electrical equipment from Naberezhnyye Chelny is delayed. In the first quarter of this year Belarus's national income decreased by 14 percent compared to the same period last year. Industrial production fell by 16 percent. The fuel industry's production capacities are operating at only 35 percent of the 1991 level. As a result it is not only we who have difficulties but we are putting others in a difficult position as well. You can give similar examples for each of the former republics. Everybody knows this. But the people continue to live badly as they did before. More often they are living even worse. It is good if the leadership understands this: Then a tragedy can be avoided.

[Bondar] But in order to grasp this, Belarus did not have to go through the experience of the recent difficult years...

[Danilenko] The Republic of Belarus has always been renowned for its sober and balanced politicians.

[Bondar] Many of my colleagues respectfully describe Belarus as the "quiet republic," in the sense that it is not searching for people to blame but is working to extricate itself from the crisis. Consequently the situation there is more predictable than in other regions.

[Danilenko] When states start to look for people to blame for their internal difficulties outside the country you can expect trouble. We do not want this. I think that it is not only a matter of our traditions and political education here. It is more that the basis of our wisdom lies in the character of the Belarusian people who have suffered enormous privations. There was the war of 1812 when the burden basically fell on the Belarusians. Then fascism came along and again my people suffered more than anybody. A final example is Chernobyl. Less than 5 percent of Ukrainian territory and 0.5 percent of Russian territory was contaminated. But 23 percent of Belarus was contaminated. But can you recall a single demonstration or rally against the disaster's effects? Well I cannot. Everybody makes promises, promises heaps of aid, but they do very little. The Belarusians struggle with the most terrible calamity of this age in silence, calmly, and on their own. It is in this that the great spirit and wisdom of our people shows through. After all, what would have been simpler than to cause discord and interstate conflicts over the matter? But to what purpose, who would gain any advantage from this? We are convinced that peace and prosperity are only achievable together with good and reliable friends and neighbors. This is the essence of our policy.

Belarus is at the same time by no means so "quiet" as it seems to the outsider. There are disputes. Crime is on the increase. This is distressing. But the fact that different tendencies and parties have appeared is heartening.

People are expressing their views freely. Some 11 political parties and 5 public movements have been registered. These processes are normal, this is what should be happening.

[Bondar] After the meeting in Moscow in May the splendid image of an economic alliance loomed on the horizon: Customs posts would in the future be abolished, foreign economic policy coordinated, and there would be a currency union... Does Belarus have its own approach to the implementation of this scheme or does it accept it in its entirety?

[Danilenko] There will, of course, be adjustments and disputes when this scheme is implemented. This is normal. But the situation is as follows today: The our parliament's leader Stanislav Shushkevich has signed all the documents of the May meeting of the CIS heads of state. He signed them with no reservations. This suits me fine personally as a representative of Belarus and I support this policy totally.

But what I have been pondering is this. In December of 1991 documents were signed in Belovezhskaya Forest. They contained many wise and sober proposals. But little was done. This puts you on your guard. You see what happens: The countries' leaders understand the situation and make the correct choice. But at some stage everything is sabotaged; I cannot find another explanation for this. Clear-cut mechanisms for control are necessary. After May work of this type began.

I once more state categorically: Belarus is in agreement with all sensible proposals. The only thing we are against is that the matter proceeds too slowly.

[Bondar] Please explain to me the question of Belarus' participation in a system of collective security. Can the finishing touches be put to it?

[Danilenko] This question has been discussed in the Belarusian parliament. It has been decided to sign a document about the republic becoming part of a system of collective security. It is possible that a referendum will be needed so that the whole nation can vote to ratify the document.

We want to acquire the status of a neutral state. We do not want any military alliances. The Supreme Soviet Presidium is presently preparing documents which, if they are adopted, will preclude the use of our Armed Forces on other states' territory; the stationing and use of other countries' forces on our territory will only be possible after the Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision about this.

[Bondar] Please refute or confirm the following opinion which is in existence at present. From the purely geographical point of view, Belarus is so to speak situated in a buffer zone, with Russia to the East and, to the West—Poland, which, compared to us, is extricating itself from the crisis with much more resolution and success. Is one of the reasons for Belarus's positive efforts to to bring the CIS together also its aspiration to balance the West and the East?

[Danilenko] Let us talk about our specific geographic location as I do not recognize the term "buffer zone." Stalin liked to use it when Poland was brought up; it was the height of cynicism to play the "Polish card" on the basis that the people live in a "buffer zone," that is in no man's land.

Owing to its unique location, Belarus has in its time found itself on the verge of physical obliteration on more than one occasion. Now times have changed, as have values. I would say that we live in the center of civilized Europe. This is yet another twist.

This in mind, I can report with satisfaction that the republic is getting down to a very serious project. We plan to build an international main line railroad from Paris to Moscow via Warsaw, Brest, Minsk, and Smolensk. The German company Dornier is involved in the reconstruction of the "crossroads of Europe"—the Brest railroad junction.

We are open to everybody. If you like you can crisscross Belarus north, south, east, and west. Of course it will cost you something to pass through. This is the practice all over the world: It is necessary to maintain both the roads and the ancillary facilities connected with them in necessary condition.

[Bondar] This is an attractive prospect. In that case let me put a personal question to you. Are you as a person an optimist or a pessimist with regard to our common future? Will the present generation of former Soviet people manage to become a generation in a Commonwealth which is respected and where life is normal? Or will it remain for them to hope, as our fathers, grandfathers, and grandfathers did, that, as they say, things will be better for their children?

[Danilenko] I am a realist. Owing to the experience of all my working life, I am accustomed and, I hope, am able to see things as they are. I sincerely want to believe that my children will live to see the day when the Commonwealth will live in accordance with laws of a democratic society. When the internecine wars are over and the standard of living approaches that of Western countries. It is for this that we are working.

[Bondar] The readers know almost nothing about the life of embassy staffers of former USSR republics. Have many of your officials come to Moscow from your country? Do Muscovites work with you? How do you relax?

[Danilenko] You cannot, of course, compare us with Western embassies for the moment. Much has remained from the former mission, including the same living and working conditions. Who are our officials? They are on the whole people who came from Belarus 5-10 years ago in order to live and work. After all, you know what housing costs in Moscow. To invite anyone from Minsk

requires an outlay of tens of millions. We do not have that kind of money. The majority of embassy officials are Belarusians by nationality.

We live like the majority of Muscovites do. And we relax in the same way: We go to the dacha, truck garden, cinema, or theater. We differ little from ordinary citizens. After all, we all lived in the same country, and there is no getting away from this.

[Bondar] Your embassy is housed in a beautiful old building on Maroseyka Street in the city center. But the situation for the Russian representatives in Minsk is a lot more difficult. Could you reveal to us the secret for improving the living conditions of Russian diplomats in Belarus?

[Danilenko] There is no secret here! Things are easier in Moscow—the republics had missions which have become embassies. The officials in time received apartments. We have to begin everything from scratch in Minsk. You yourself know well how difficult it now is to solve basic questions of everyday life. But the issue of providing Russians with housing has gotten off the ground. Two buildings have been earmarked to house the embassy officials. Everything will become normal in both our countries. All that we need is time.

Plight of Russian Embassy in Almaty Noted

PM2306155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Skorokhodov report incorporating undated interview with Russian Embassy Counselor Vladimir Fedotov in Almaty: "Parity Kazakhstan-Style"]

[Text] Almaty—Having long intended to familiarize our newspaper readers with the activity of Russian diplomats in one of the largest CIS states, I took a close look at the local Foreign Ministry's diplomatic list and I was suprised to discovered that it is already six months since they arrived, but the position of Russian diplomats has not changed one iota. The embassies of several European states are housed in splendid buildings. The Americans are in a former museum—a high-quality, two-story building built by the Cossacks. The Turkish Embassy has an old mansion in the center of the city. Meanwhile, the plenipotentiary representatives of the largest Eurasian power—economic links with which, incidentally, account for two-thirds of Kazakhstan's budget—still find themselves in a city hotel. Such facts suggest that the former Union republics have long since learned to let themselves off lightly in respect of both material and moral debts to the party only recently referred to respectfully as "elder brother."

Here is what Vladimir Fedotov, counselor at the Russian Embassy, has to say:

[Fedotov] Unfortunately, the embassy's formation has still not been finished. The deployment of all our services and the formation of a permanent staff are hindered primarily by the lack of official premises. We are restricted here in literally everything. We do not have offices, the requisite equipment, or communications systems. We cannot receive visitors, although the stream of such people grows day by day.

The fundamental principle of diplomatic relations has always been the principle of mutuality. We all know that Kazakhstan's mission in Moscow has been granted the most favorable working and living conditions possible. We too are entitled to expect the same conditions—otherwise we will not be able to work effectively either in consular activity with the 6 million-plus Russian diaspora, or in the sphere of establishing fruitful relations with Kazakhstani organizations. However, here today, on the 21st floor of this hotel, you can see the reality. This is how the famous Eastern hospitality looks close up. And it is not free of charge. Russian taxpayers have the right to know where their money is going. For the honor of staying in these cramped rooms, and for all the discomfort which we have to tolerate here, Russia pays out millions of rubles every month. And the sum is increasing constantly. At a time when Republic of Kazakhstan diplomats in Moscow are offered every facility practically free.

It is hoped that the republic authorities will return to compliance with the principle of mutuality, and create normal conditions for our work here.

[Skorokhodov] As we know, the Kazakhstan mission occupies an entire block on Chistoprudnyy Boulevard: palaces of the Russian nobility, premises for meetings with people, a guesthouse, a garage, apartments, recreation facilities. Did this generous pre-perestroyka gift fall to Kazakhstan's diplomats for nothing?

[Fedotov] You know, while a unified state existed, territories were offered to Union republic council of ministers missions to the USSR Council of Ministers in the same away as they were offered to missions of the integral parts of this unified country. Now, with the formation of separate states, the situation has changed substantially. But the question of ownership rights and on the right to possess territory is not up to us.

[Skorokhodov] What do you see as the ideal solution to the problem of the location of the Russian Embassy in Almaty?

[Fedotov] It lies in the offer of a building with sufficient space in the city center and adjacent grounds, and in help to refurbish it speedily and efficiently and to bring it into line with the generally accepted requirements for such installations. This would allow us to organize quickly consular reception of the population and to resolve questions of citizenship, to set up an apparatus and a press service, and to create a cultural center, which would strengthen the atmosphere of stability and prevent wholesale emigration to Russia.

I think that it would be in the interests of all to broaden Russian representatives' contacts with representatives of

the local authorities and the Russian diaspora on Kazakhstan territory. So, the quicker the first stage in setting up the Russian Embassy is over, the more effective our bilateral relations will become. [Fedotov ends]

This topic acquired a very interesting postscript a day after the meeting in the embassy. Workers at Almaty's "Kazselenergoproekt" Institute—which, incidentally, is one of the city's largest institutes—were refused access to their place of work by order of the militia. The guardians of law and order and an unnamed representative of the State Committee for the Management of State Property sequestrated the building.

Without offering the institute workers—and there are around 400 of them—any premises in exchange, the city administration, so to speak, threw them out onto the street today. The reason for this is known: The building is to be transferred to the Russian Embassy.

A collective that is 90 percent Russian has been left without work.

From the editorial office:

It is clear from the published item that the situation surrounding the Russian Embassy in Almaty is truly difficult. That it suits Kazakhstan's leadership is obvious. But there is one quite justified question: Why does it suit the Russian Government?

One more thing, again with a question mark: How do you explain the presence in the Russian capital of real estate belonging to the Republic of Kazakhstan worth billions of rubles, and the lack of anything similar in Almaty for Russia?

Warships Rescue Refugees From Besieged Georgian Town

PM2306121393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By Nana Gongadze and Georgiy Bazadze; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Gongadze] The unique 72-hour humanitarian operation carried out in the Abkhaz conflict zone under UN auspices by the Russian Committee for Emergency Situations has been successfully completed. At dawn today, 2 km from Sukhumi in the "Mayak" border patrol district two Russian assault landing ships picked up around 2,000 refugees from Tkvarcheli. The freight convoy, which delivered food to the mining town and then evacuated the people, was protected by local Russian assault troop detachments and Georgian troops. At 1100—just when the refugees were embarking—two artillery shells fired by the Abkhaz side landed in the water near the ships. At the same time mortars opened up against Georgian positions and residential areas of Sukhumi.

Government Outlines Terms for Bosnian Settlement

LD2306133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 23 (TASS)—Russia welcomed the Geneva negotiations on the Bosnian settlement and said seven conditions are to be observed during the talks.

The Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Wednesday that the first round of negotiations showed that the conflicting sides can reach consensus by direct contacts and create new approaches adequate to the current situation and expressed hope that the second round will result in further progress.

The terms which are to be observed include:

1. A real and confirmed ceasefire by all parties. A possibility to resolve to tough sanctions against violators.

2. It is unacceptable to ignore the interests of any of the parties, lawful concerns of everybody should be taken into consideration in full.

3. The preservation of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina with due consideration of the interests of each of the three communities no matter what decision is adopted on its internal structure—federative or confederative.

4. It is inadmissible to fix territorial or other advantages gained by the use of force, as well as the results of ethnic cleansing. If the sides agree to exchange territories the process should be carried out under strict international control and in compliance with all humanitarian norms.

5. The sides had to ensure unconditional fulfilment of all corresponding resolutions of the U.N. Security Council, as well as the safety of U.N. forces and humanitarian aid deliveries.

6. Maximum possible attention should be paid to the experience, ideas and principles of the London Conference, the Vance-Owen plan, the Washington programme of joint actions.

7. The factor of agreed international actions in Bosnia should be preserved as a precondition of achieving and implementing the settlement.

The ministry welcomed the fact that the decisions of the Council of Europe of June 22 corresponded in many aspects to its approaches and ideas.

"We support the peacemaking efforts of international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg and are ready to continue actively promoting the settlement also through the special envoy of the Russian president at talks on former Yugoslavia", the ministry said.

Foreign Ministry Official Supports UN Peacekeeping Role

LD2306132593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The operations conducted by the UN troops in Somalia to disarm the militant groups of General Aidid and put an end to his propaganda machine continues to raise the question about the permissible extent of those actions. Here is what (Dmitriy Yudin), deputy director of the Department for International Organizations at Russia's Foreign Ministry, said in an interview for Radio Moscow International:

[Begin (Yudin) recording in Russian fading into superimposed English report] Today, said (Dmitriy Yudin) we are going over to a new generation in the UN operations, which in the opinion of Russia's Foreign Ministry, should include the use of armed force. In accordance with Article 7 of the UN Charter and in line with the Security Council mandate, the UN troops in Somalia had the right and were even obliged to use armed force against the elements that were undermining the political settlement process.

It seems to me, (Dmitriy Yudin) goes on to say, that not only Russia but the entire world community should have even been faced with a question of whether or not to use armed force when there is a threat to the lives of members of a UN peacekeeping contingent. Of course, armed force should be used with extreme caution. It should be very limited and kept first of all within legal frameworks, said (Dmitriy Yudin).

When asked whether the UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia wasn't actually armed interference in the country's affairs and a violation of its sovereignty, (Dmitriy Yudin) of Russia's Foreign Ministry said the following: Such a judgement, said (Dmitriy Yudin), has apparently certain grounds, but one should bear in mind very clearly that any operation sanctioned by the Security Council is conducted in strict accordance with the articles of the UN Charter, and the cornerstone of the Charter is recognition of the sovereignty of a country.

When answering a question about Russia's participation in the UN peacekeeping operations, (Dmitriy Yudin) said that this is already taking place on the territory of former Yugoslavia, in Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, and Western Sahara. Russia intends to continue taking part in the UN efforts to settle conflicts and maintain peace in different parts of the world. But Russia has given and will continue to give, special attention to peacemaking on the territory of the former Soviet Union. In that respect, it bears the bulk of the responsibility—politically, economically, financially, and also as far as people are concerned. Russian servicemen in Tajikistan, Ossetia, the Transdniester, and other conflict regions, are playing a role similar to that of the UN Blue Berets, said (Dmitriy Yudin) of Russia's Foreign Ministry.

WGF's Alleged Mafia Links Denied

LD2306213593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Berlin, 23 Jun—The press center of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] today denied a report in the German SPIEGEL weekly which, yet again raising the question of "the Russian mafia" in its latest issue, is trying to accuse the WGT of links with mafia structures in the Germany, without producing evidence to this effect.

The report of the WGF press center notes that the problem of the accumulation of criminal elements around the WGF garrisons also worries its command. To stop their activity, the WGF law enforcement bodies are maintaining close contacts with the German police. Thanks to this cooperation, it has proved possible, for example, to prevent an attack on a special vehicle which was supposed to take money from the town of Wunsdorf to the town of Eberswalde.

SPIEGEL once again put forward unsubstantiated accusations addressed to the WGF commander, referring, as it did previously, to alleged information from inspection visits by various commissions to the WGF, which is available to the magazine's editorial office. However, the magazine did not mention the conclusions of the latest commission which visited the WGF in May. The commission was led by Aleksey Ilyushenko, head of the supervision directorate of the administration of the Russian president. The press center recalls that at a meeting with journalists in Moscow at the beginning of June, Ilyushenko said that no facts of corruption and links with the mafia had been revealed in the WGF.

French Armed Forces Chief of Staff Holds Talks in Moscow

PM2306150593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Admiral Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces, arrived in Russia on Monday 21 June on an official visit. Tuesday he met with Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, and Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy head of the Russian military department. During their conversations the sides discussed matters of mutual interest.

Adm. Lanxade laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the "Normandie-Nieman" air regiment memorial on Kropotkinskaya Embankment.

Meets With Deputy Defense Minister

LD2306123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Andrey Kokoshin, Russia's first deputy defence minister, on Wednesday met with Admiral Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces, who is currently in Russia on an official visit.

At the request of the French side, Kokoshin analysed problems connected with the conversion and diversification of Russian defence-industry enterprises.

In response to a question from the French guest, he emphasised that in 1992 the amount of Russian military order decreased by 67-68 per cent as compared with the arms production scope in the former Soviet Union in 1991.

The French defence industry is living through a period of restructuring and contraction but on a much lesser scale, Admiral Lanxade said. He underlined the French Defence Ministry's interest in cooperation with Russia in the production of some types of arms and military hardware. This cooperation, he said, is an important pre-requisite for cooperation in the field of defence and for the development of political contacts between Russia and France.

Deputy Energy Minister Denies DPRK Uranium Smuggling

MK2306114493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 26, 27 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 22 Jun) p A3

[Andrey Kolesnikov report under the "Rumors" rubric: "Yegorov on the Hook"]

[Excerpts] **The Deutsche Welle radio station has conducted an investigation into rumors that have long circulated among its staffers.**

According to these rumors, North Korea, with the connivance or even direct participation of the Russian authorities is shipping uranium ore from Siberia. [passage omitted]

Your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent, unable to assess the importance of the sensational report on his own, asked Deputy Nuclear Energy Minister Nikolay Yegorov, chief supervisor of Russian uranium, to do so. The investigation made a tremendous impression on him.

What astonished him most were the spades with which the uranium ore was shoveled into lead containers. The deputy minister kept asking your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent what was the purpose of these containers if, before Deutsche Welle conducted its investigation, the ore did not pose any radioactive threat whatsoever. He then began calculating how much ore, which, according to Yegorov, contains 0.2 percent of natural uranium, has to be shoveled in order for these efforts to make at least some sense—but lost his bearings completely.

From the practical point of view, the deputy minister took interest in the fact that all the logging camps were reportedly located on uranium anomalies and "the proposal by local authorities to the Russian Foreign Ministry to change the location of the North Korean camps was left unanswered." "We have been actively carrying out prospecting in Siberia and in other areas in the hope of finding such anomalies," Nikolay Yegorov said, "but it is very rare that we do."

The deputy minister made no bones about his anxiety over the Deutsche Welle report, but when asked whether he will wait for the continuation of the inquiry, there was a long silence and hung up.

Commentary Assesses Cambodian Situation After Elections

BK2306051393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1200 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Commentary by Leonid Krichevskiy]

[Text] The Phnom Penh government has now agreed to accept the result of the general elections in Cambodia. Concerning this matter, our observer, Leonid Krichevskiy, has the following comment:

First of all, I would like to recall for the information of listeners that in the general elections of the constituent assembly in Cambodia, the royalist party FUNCINPEC [National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia] came out as the winner. Beaten by this party with only a few votes is the Cambodian People's Party [CPP]. Of the 120 seats in that constituent assembly, the FUNCINPEC won 58 while the CPP got 51 seats.

The CPP did not expect this outcome. That was why it promptly demanded a review of that result. Some of the CPP leaders even went as far as declaring the autonomy of some provinces in the eastern part of the country. But the other CPP leaders finally rejected such a nonsensical idea to secede from the country and quelled that autonomous idea.

Cambodian personages, such as Their Excellencies Chea Sim and Hun Sen, spared no effort to restore the equilibrium and succeeded in turning this party back on the right track toward normalizing the situation through peaceful means.

The CPP's decision to accept the result of the elections, although attached with some conditions, is certainly an

irrefutable positive step conducive to mustering various Cambodian political forces in the new stage following the elections.

In such a situation, how will the peace process in Cambodia develop within the next three months after elections? This means that at the end of August, a constitution for the nation must be adopted with the endorsement of the head of state. After that, the constituent assembly will turn into the legislative assembly, which will form a government. That will be the permanent government and not an interim one as at present. This means that the executive and legislative powers will be legal, valid, and real. By then, the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, or UNTAC, will hand over to it all the reins of government.

Having been engaged in the events that took place in the past few weeks, the mass media seemed to forget about the existence of the Khmer Rouge. Such forgetfulness is understandable because after the elections, the Khmer Rouge seemed to hide themselves so quietly. They have adopted a wait-and-see strategy. The Khmer Rouge party's current stand is still unclear. On the one hand, this party has no right to take part in forming any organization because it turned a deaf ear to the elections. But on the other hand, the several official statements issued lately by this party clearly shows that it does not want to remain indifferent. Given a chance, it will certainly try to bargain for something. For example, if the statements of the Khmer Rouge leaders are to be believed, they seem to have no objection to the formation of a provisional coalition government.

In such a complex situation, it is undeniably wise and tactful for Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in his national reconciliation efforts, not to leave out the Khmer Rouge. On the contrary, he even called on them to bridge [words indistinct]. On their part, the Khmer Rouge have not rejected the above appeal of the prince.

In the current stage, it is quite difficult for observers to guess how the situation in Cambodia will develop. However, I think that the dark cloud over Cambodia has now broken off, although it might take a longer time for this cloud to clear off, concludes our Moscow radio observer, Leonid Krichevskiy.

Constitution Issues

Shakhray's Working Group Resumes Session 23 Jun

LD2306120093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Representatives of the subjects of the Federation resumed their sessions in the Kremlin today as the first of the five working groups of the Constitutional Conference with nearly full membership. Opening the session the coordinator of the group Sergey Shakhray said that the conciliation commission, which had been working round the clock since the last plenary session had completed its work on bringing the positions of the five groups together on the first six chapters of the draft constitution, since yesterday had been discussing the chapters on the judicial system and local self-government. Sergey Shakhray stressed that this is a very complicated task of synthesis of a practically new draft constitution, the text of which will be submitted to all groups of the conference tomorrow morning when they also resume their sessions. The reason Shakhray's group met earlier than the others lies in the quite delicate and contentious problem of the equality of the subjects of the Federation and the need to work out common viewpoints on this. [passage omitted]

Draft To Be Ready 24 Jun

LD2406075093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has voiced the view that the joint text of the draft constitution will be ready today. The deputy prime minister said this at a session of the Constitutional Conference's section on subjects of the Federation. Sergey Shakhray believes the integrated document is a good deal stronger than the president's and parliament's drafts taken on their own. All the working groups of the Constitutional Conference are to be acquainted with the document today.

Working Groups To Study Completed Sections

LD2406135293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1216 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun—The participants in the sections of the Constitutional Conference have today been given several chapters of the joint text of the new Basic Law of the Russian Federation, which the forum's conciliation commission has been working on throughout the week.

So far, only the first sections of the draft Constitution are ready to be looked at—the chapters incorporating the bases of the Russian Federation's constitutional system, citizens' rights and freedoms, and also Russia's federal structure. The participants in the conference have not yet been given the sections relating to the federal bodies of power—the president, the federal assembly (the future parliament), the government, the judicial system, and local self government.

Having received their "homework," three out of five sections decided not to convene today, but instead to use the day to study in detail the agreed upon sections. Discussion of the joint text by the sections is planned for tomorrow and, according to initial information, the plenary session will take place on 26 June.

The participants in the forum were also presented with the draft "Act on Elections to the Top Body of Legislative Power in the Russian Federation—the Federal Assembly" today. This document caused a negative reaction in the section representing the subjects of the Federation. "The idea of elections based on party lists is unacceptable to the heads of regions, because all party leaderships are concentrated in Moscow," the president's representative in St. Petersburg, Sergey Tsiplyayev, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Members of the sections representing federative bodies of power and commodity producers voted against the "Act on Elections."

Further on 24 Jun Meeting

LD2406145993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By correspondent A. Pishchayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] All five groups—participants in the session—gathered for the Constitutional conference today. They were presented with the first results of the work of the conciliatory commission that examined the amendments to the Constitution submitted by the groups. This was the 75 articles of a new main law of the country. The conciliatory commission is still working on the remaining articles. The commission's version of the draft constitution has not included some amendments that were proposed earlier. For example, on introducing the institution of people's supreme legal defender, on the right to issue a petition, on the ethnic minorities' right to protection, on a ban on making a law retrospective in case of a state of emergency, and a number of other amendments. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court Approves of Constitutional Assembly

LD2306174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1549 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—None of the constitutional judges opposed the discussion of the draft basic law at the Constitutional Assembly convened by the

president, Judge Vladimir Oleynik told TASS commenting on a closed-door meeting of the court which discussed the constitutional reform on Wednesday [23 June].

The judges agreed that the finalised draft can no longer be called either the presidential or the parliamentary because it had accumulated everything positive from both documents, according to Oleynik.

The judges also noted the "spirit of constructiveness and compromise" at the assembly, he said.

Zorkin on Constitution, Relations With Yeltsin

MK2306094493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 26, 27 Jun 93 (signed to press 22 Jun) p A2

[Interview with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin by Vladimir Orlov; under the "Meeting" rubric: "Zorkin in Kremlin"]

[Text] "President Yeltsin has great potential, considerable support from society, and can do very much for Russia," Valeriy Zorkin, Russian Constitutional Court chairman, stated in an exclusive interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI following his meeting with Yeltsin on 16 June.

[Orlov] Did you have a big discussion?

[Zorkin] We had a preliminary discussion. The first one after all those episodes involving the "group-of-six meetings" (when six out of 13 judges met with Yeltsin in May—V.O.) and the like. It took around 35 minutes. We agreed we would meet again within the next few days. Following this it is not ruled out that there would also take place a meeting of the president with all members of the court—he spoke favorably in regard to this idea.

[Orlov] It is being rumored that your meeting discussed ways to bypass the Congress.

[Zorkin] No, the discussion was broader: about expanding the constitutional process, about the way a new constitution is to be adopted.

[Orlov] Well, how would it be adopted?

[Zorkin] We accentuated a constitutional, legitimate path. I think the president is ready for this. This is also seen in the way the constitutional conference is moving along; that is, along constructive lines.

[Orlov] Does this mean that the constitution should be adopted by the Congress?

[Zorkin] If the Congress has not lost what is left of its common sense, then it cannot reject a constitution arrived at through much pain by the different forces in the constitutional conference. If the Congress does not reckon with prevailing sentiments, it will be cast off. The constitution now in force allows for bypassing the Congress through a referendum. In this case, the majority of the population would definitely speak for a new constitution, and the full Congress would be obliged to resign immediately. I still think that the Congress will prove to be able and ready to pass the constitution, in which case new elections would not be far off.

[Orlov] Your relations with Yeltsin in recent months have been hard going.

[Zorkin] I am through half my life, I remember the different rulers: Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, the present ones.... I have no illusions in this sense. But I proceed from the fact that we have no right to retreat into a shell. The branches of power should interact while discussing the constitutional process. And they can. There is no other option. The president is inclined to solve constitutional problems through agreement whatever the retainers [dvorovaya chelyad] do. Otherwise I would not have met him halfway.

Filatov's Assessments of Constitution Draft Cited

PM2306132593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Roza Sergaziyeva report under the general heading "Constitutional Conference": "Sergey Filatov: 'All That Is Best Went Into New Draft.' This Document To Be Submitted in Updated Form to Plenary Session on 26 June"]

[Text] Sergey Filatov summed up the results of the interim stage of the Constitutional Conference's work at a press conference yesterday. As Sergey Filatov emphasized the working group received in total more than 4,000 corrections over this period; these were scrutinized in a simplified form in all the groups and we now already have an integrated Constitution which takes the results of the discussions in the groups into account.

The draft constitution will be submitted in an updated form to the plenary session on 26 June. Individual provisions of the preliminary draft have been greatly clarified and improved in it. A discussion of the updated draft will also begin on 26 June. After this we will look forward to the concluding stage—to approving the new Constitution, and will subsequently get on with adopting it in earnest.

According to Sergey Filatov, the working group worked very intensively and yesterday completed scrutiny of the chapter "The Russian Federation Government." Today work on bringing together all the draft's elements should be completed.

What has changed in the draft constitution? According to Sergey Filatov there have been practically no conceptual changes. It is rather that the Constitution has changed structurally. A first chapter—the fundamentals of the constitutional system—has appeared including the unshakable principles of the Constitution, on which all

the basic chapters of this law are based. But, as Sergey Filatov emphasized, this legislative section may, of course, change with changes in society.

The Constitution's third part is the Federation Treaty, which is now a separate document within it. If all the Federation Treaty's provisions become part of the actual Constitution's text, then it will not be necessary as an appendix.

It has a second distinguishing feature. The second chapter on citizens' rights and freedoms as well as the subsequent chapters incorporated a significant proportion of the draft which the Constitutional Commission presented. It is Sergey Filatov's opinion that one-third of the new text is taken from the Constitutional Commission's draft. Therefore, all the worries about the compatibility or otherwise of the two drafts of the constitution are losing their importance. All that was best and could be extracted went into the new draft. The result is a summary text of an integrated constitution which, as Sergey Filatov hopes, society will support.

Parties Criticize Constitutional Conference Procedures

MK2306095693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Indira Dunayeva report under "Moscow" rubric: "Not All Politicians Happy With Progress of Constitutional Conference. Parties Send Public Letter to Yeltsin, Khasbulatov"]

[Text] Several participants in the Constitutional Conference—Yelena Voldimarova, cochair of the Russian Commodity Producers Union; Aleksandr Tikhonov, Consolidation Party chairman; and Vladimir Filin, chairman of the Russian Social Liberal Party—have sent an open letter to Yeltsin and Khasbulatov appraising the work of the Constitutional Conference. In their opinion, the groups' constructive work is being "nullified:" Thus, on 16 June, without discussion, voting was held on a draft declaration on the Russian Constitution, which was "substantially revised, leading to a loss of major provisions on the principles of separation of powers, supremacy of law and legality, and the integrity and consolidation of Russia," as compared with the draft supported by conference participants earlier.

The authors of the letter fear that on 26 June, too, "an apparatus-style version of the constitution text will be presented, with an analogous procedure for its adoption." They appeal to the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies to join efforts with the Constitutional Conference to produce a single text of the Fundamental Law. And they hope that at an OKDOR [expansion unknown] session other political organizations will join the "open letter." Yelena Voldimarova believes that it is necessary to "stop the 'constitutional race' and to abstain from voting if amendments from the groups are ignored, and to continue their discussion."

Tikhonov, Voldimarova, and Filin called on various political forces to unite to form an all-Russian movement of concord so as to adopt a new constitution. According to Vladimir Filin, based on this movement, a centrist bloc could emerge which would act as a "conciliating force between parliament and the president of Russia." Yet he does not agree that Civic Union is a centrist movement since "they have a tilt toward social-democratic orientation."

In spite of the shortcomings in the conference's work the authors of the letter are convinced that the constitution should be discussed and adopted now because it is "a political basis for the development of the country's economy."

Socialist Party Says Wrong Time for New Constitution

MK2306122093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 23, 23-29 Jun 93 (signed to print 22 Jun) p 2

[INFO-ROSSIYA, PARTINFORM report under the "Parties" rubric: "Society Does Not Really Know What It Wants"]

[Text] L. Vartazarova, Socialist Party of Working People chairperson, at an 18 June press conference stated where her party stands on the outcome of the work done so far by the Constitutional Conference. "A new constitution should not be adopted in a society which is in a state of growing confrontation, and which does not really know yet what it wants," said Lyudmila Vartazarova. Supporting the idea of early elections, the Socialist Party of Working People insists that the announcement of the elections should be preceded by the adoption of laws on elections, parties, and legal guarantees of equal access for all political forces to the mass media. The Socialist Party of Working People shows a preference for a mixed majority-proportional election system. If the elections are set for this fall, they would of course be undemocratic and illegitimate.

Speaking about allies in the election campaign, L. Vartazarova observed that like the Congress of Left-Wing Democratic Forces, the Socialist Party of Working People is a component of the Coalition of Civil Forces on the basis of parity, as an equal partner of Civic Union, something that does not rule out at all the possibility for the Left-Wing Forces to act as an independent bloc or as a sub-bloc. It was stressed that "any dissolution of the Socialist Party of Working People or of the Congress of Left-Wing Democratic Forces within the framework of the coalition is out of the question."

Draft Constitution Seen Jeopardizing Democracy, Reform

MK2306123093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 26, 27 Jun 93 (signed to press 22 Jun) p A8

[Report by German Diligenskiy, doctor of historical sciences, under the "Opinion" rubric: "Means vs. Ends]

[Text] For the sake of what ends did Russia's political elite feel it necessary to get around to drawing up a new constitution precisely at this moment? The answer is clear: In order to get rid of the Congress of People's Deputies, which slows down the reform the country needs, and to bring political institutions in line with the will of the electorate expressed at the April referendum.

The difficulty of having to bypass the congress and parliament in order to adopt a new constitution, familiar to everyone, and the balance of political forces in the country have determined the choice of means required to achieve these ends. What proved nearly decisive was a tasty morsel thrown to the chiefs of republics, krays, and oblasts. To win support for the presidential draft, the would-be parliament's upper chamber, made up of the Federation components, will be given decisive powers in forming executive authorities and supervising their activity. Clearly, in such a parliament, the deputies representing a minority of the population (small republics and regions) will be able to impose their will on those who represents the majority—densely populated industrial regions, which secured Boris Yeltsin's victory at the referendum.

In addition, under the new version of the draft Constitution born out of the Constitutional Conference, the parliament's upper chamber will be given vast veto powers with regard to the lower one, while the Federation components will henceforth be represented exclusively by the heads of republican and regional authorities. If this situation remains unchanged, we will have a very peculiar "parliament." The deciding vote will be cast not by the popularly elected deputies, but by the heads of republican and regional authorities—presidents, governors, and chairmen of local soviets. No, it is not with a presidential dictatorship that this constitutional version is fraught, as the "intransigent" opposition claims, but with a dictatorship of a bureaucratic oligarchy, a new nomenklatura. And it is nothing but a consensus reached with it by the president and his government that can bring about a relative stability of power. This arrangement will have even less to do with democracy than the union congress (with the Communist Party's "hundred") or its Russian counterpart have had.

And now a rhetorical question. What reason do the authors of this "tactical move" have to hope that this parliament, and particularly its upper chamber, will be more conducive to economic reform than the incumbent congress? The current line of conduct adopted by most members of the regional elite does not inspire any particular optimism to that effect. If the president is to get on good terms with them, he will apparently have—as he does now—to pack his government with people who are least concerned for the creation of a market economy. And this is bound to boost the trends toward restoration, which continue to present a dark background for the struggle over a new constitution. Thus, the means may overpower and bury the end.

A counterargument may be advanced that the retention of Russia's unity on the basis of federalism also belongs to the most important ends of its democratic transformation. I am heart and soul for both regionalization and federalism, provided they are democratic. An oligarchic federalism would spur the ambitions of local elites, which will result in innumerable squabbles and political instability. In any event, the maximum flexibility and a great variety of federal relations seem to me a much more solid basis for unity than an uncertain consensus between the center and local bureaucracy at the top level.

Constitutional Conference Results Viewed

PM2306154793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by political observer Andrey Sharapov: "Untraditional Results of Untraditional Forum"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference has completed the first stage of its work, leaving behind as "sediment" a statement about the most general constitutional principles and five version of a draft Fundamental Law created by five sections.

The main thing which strikes one in the Kremlin corridors of power—the sterile, utter silence and lack of people. On the hill where the history of the greatest and strangest empire began, time is passing unhurriedly. But reality is filtered through the Kremlin walls, creating space either for thorough statesmanlike thought or for the phantoms of the mind and subconscious of the latest leader and his team.

Burbulis and others have admitted that they came to the conference disposed only toward the president's version of the Constitution. We are continuing to live not by reason but by feelings and the shameless lack of logic of this situation has perturbed few people. Yet it was proposed to sew the people a constitutional suit from fabric belonging to the Master and following his style and using his tailors. Even Brezhnev's stagnant Constitution of 1977 was covered by a figleaf of nationwide discussion. But the democracy of 1993 has made out as an achievement the fact that the minds appointed by the Master, just like the bold oprichniks [administrative elite established by Ivan IV], will rapidly and precisely explain all that is needed to the people—and all the people have to do is to live by the new law and be glad.

Fortunately, the fighting spirit of Yeltsin's baying supporters (who to judge by the fussing of the Supreme Soviet chairman make up the noisiest section of the forum) was exhausted on the first day of constitutional cutting and sewing. Because the strange nature of many participants in Shakhray's styling was obvious. As a result everything was finally confused because together with a legitimate draft the country has also received five more versions of the Constitution. Many of the provisions of these drafts are incompatible. How the conciliation commission appointed by the president will select amendments is not hard to guess.

There is no doubt that the Constitutional Conference as an expert organ is worthy of every praise. Several unusual ideas have been voiced and the best provision of the legitimate draft (for instance on human rights) has "grown" into new versions. The main problems have appeared clearly—the unequal rights of the components of the Federation and the method of managing executive power. But when the expert organ is presented to the people as the fateful expresser of their own aspirations, what we have is unfair juggling.

The king is made by his entourage, and professional rulers like our Josef the Godlike [apparent reference to Stalin] renewed this entourage substantially from time to time, securing political longevity for themselves. The sad irony of our time of unprofessional politicians is that they are offering the remains of a meal from the day before yesterday disguised as a fresh dish.

The theater of people who demonstrated their professional incompetence a year ago or even two years ago has again opened its doors under the sign of the Constitutional Conference. There were undoubtedly wise people at the conference. But the tone was set by unemployed politicians and "yesmen" with walk-on parts—chairmen of little-known funds, semicommercial structures and unusual confessions, if not heresies, or simply leaders of recently formed committees in support of the president.

The haste and awkwardness of the entire undertaking involving the Constitutional Conference were also displayed in small details. Initially journalists were strictly divided into ranks and the guards were in a terrible muddle over who to prevent from going where. Then, realizing they had been overzealous, the entire press corps was magically made equal with the right to roam round the foyer. The monitors were turned on only at the "plenary session." On the remaining days a sepulchral boredom reigned in the foyer and to obtain up to date information journalists had to buttonhole the constitutional conference participants.

One of the conference's wise participants said frankly: A big game is under way, there is one chief player and several players around him. All the others are mere associates. Obviously the rapid pace of the constitutional blitz is also needed to ensure there is no time left to think about obvious things. Does the support at the referendum give the president the right to violate existing laws and to cheat by equating the communists and the soviets, the parliament and the Central Committee? Is the referendum not being confused with a blessing from heaven after which every word from the prophet is sacred? What is the hidden agenda of the constitutional show which has swiftly replaced the referendum show?

We should not forget that alongside the group which is synthesizing the five draft constitutions commissions are operating for the elaboration of a new law for election to parliament and a new mechanism for adopting the Fundamental Law to replace the legal one. But is a change of political opponents the sole aim of this nationwide show or does it not also fulfill the traditional task of any show—diverting spectators from reality? While passions are seething over the constitutional amendments the quiet Chubaysization of the entire country is preparing a strange and alarming future for Russia. The people who were slightly more than 70 years late in seeing the light do not have the right to be "late" again.

On one day of the work of the Constitutional Conference they sounded the bells of Ivan the Great. There was no mellow chime. The ringing was simple, sometimes the bells were obviously "wheezing." No Russian speech was to be heard on the Kremlin squares except for the constrained swearing of the soldiers who had demolished the two-story canteen building and freed the third side of the Hall of Facets. In the Kremlin foyers in the intervals between debating the Constitution there was a mufti in green robes, Gleb Yakunin in a jacket, a Catholic priest in black, a bishop of an unfamiliar creed in lilac and yellow. The black statue of the monument to Lenin looked somewhere off to the side from the domes of the Kremlin. In a small square not far from the demolished monument to Emperor Aleksandr II they were tying up bundles of apples.

And it seemed that everything was mingled on the sacred land from which there sprung the greatest and strangest empire in history.

Political & Economic Issues

Roundup on Activities of Government Leaders

PM2406102093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed "Executive: Monitoring" column]

[Excerpts] **Government's Working Day**

All members of the government who were in Moscow yesterday laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the morning.

Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin completed his visit to Tatarstan. First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov participated in the visit to Tatarstan together with the premier.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko is continuing his work in the Constitutional Conference's working commission.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets and Vice Premiers Yuriy Yarov and Anatoliy Chubays participated in a session of the Commission on Current Issues. After the session Oleg Soskovets met with the director of a plant processing nonferrous metals from the city of Kolchugino.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov held a planning conference at the Ministry of Finance.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray received Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin is in Washington. He is involved in preparations for the visit of the Russian Federation head of government to the United States. [passage omitted]

Visits, Trips

Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin announced his intention to resolve as soon as possible very urgent questions of financing the reconstruction of the KamAZ joint-stock company's diesel motor plant. Speaking in Naberezhnyye Chelny on 21 June at a conference on questions of reconstructing the plant, which burned down about two months ago, he said that in just a few days approximately 45 billion rubles will be appropriated for this purpose.

Viktor Chernomyrdin also visited the Yelabuga Automobile Plant construction site.

At a conference in which the YelAZ [Yelabuga Automobile Plant] leadership participated, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that it is necessary to determine the construction project's fate as quickly as possible. "Otherwise it may be lost," he stated. The premier emphasized that on its own Russia cannot today afford to complete the construction program and called on YelAZ specialists to look for foreign investors.

Viktor Chernomyrdin charged the Economics Ministry with scrutinizing as soon as possible the feasibility study for founding a passenger automobile plant together with the South Korean Daewoo company, and also scrutinizing all other proposals. The premier considers it possible to have any forms of participation by foreign companies, including the creation of joint ventures.

Dispute

President of Mordovia Vasiliy Guslyannikov has stated that he will make every effort to restore the rule of law in the republic and punish those guilty of flouting democracy. In a statement he circulated, he described "actions to seize power mounted by the republic's Council of Ministers under the leadership of V. Shvetsov as illegal." Guslyannikov draws attention to the fact that a number of Mordovia's ministers, primarily the ministers of internal affairs and finance, are not carrying out the Russian Federation Government decree and the Russian President Boris Yeltsin's edict on assisting the president of the Mordovian SSR.

These documents confirm V. Guslyannikov's powers until a verdict is returned on whether the Moldovian SSR Supreme Soviet's decision to abolish the institution of the presidency in the republic is constitutional. However, as V. Guslyannikov's statement indicates, this question remains unresolved: The Russian Federation Constitutional Court has not adopted a final decision and has referred it for scrutiny to Mordovia.

The statement emphasizes that "the criminal acts being committed by the group of people calling themselves the Council of Ministers with the support of Nikolay Biryukov, chairman of the pro-communist Supreme Soviet, have resulted in a deterioration of the political situation in the republic." It also criticizes Mordovian SSR Prosecutor P. Senkin's inactivity in the face of the "illegal actions being perpetrated," which is also serving to destabilize the situation.

Yeltsin Strengthens Crime, Corruption Agencies

MK2306121093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[KOMMERSANT-DAILY Crime Desk report: "New Measures in Combating Crime. Russian President Strengthens Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption"]

[Text] An edict by Russian President Boris Yeltsin "On Additional Measures To Ensure Effective Work of the Russian Federation Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption" was circulated yesterday. In addition to a number of instructions from the president to the Interdepartmental Commission, the edict announces the creation of a new structure: the Administration in Support of the Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption, with 35 staffers.

The new presidential edict instructs the Interdepartmental Commission: to make proposals before 1 July 1993 on measures to strengthen Russia's law and order organs and to upgrade their technical equipment standards; to make proposals before 1 August on legislation regulating citizens' participation in prevention of crime and protection of public order; and to elaborate before 1 October a federal program to step up the fight against crime and corruption during 1994-95. The edict recommends that republics which are part of Russia, and krays, oblasts, autonomous entities, as well as Moscow and St. Petersburg, should create their own interdepartmental commissions for combating crime and corruption and arrange for their interaction with the Security Council commission.

The edict also confirms a new version of the Statute of Russia's Security Council Interdepartmental Commission. The main difference between it and the previous one (confirmed by the Russian president on 23 January 1993) is that it provides for the creation—as part of the Russian Security Council apparatus—of the Administration in Support of the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption. The administration (composed of 35 persons in accordance with the edict) is supposed to analyze and sum up information and analytical materials, as well as to prepare working documents to be examined during the commission's sessions. Its chief shall be appointed and dismissed by the president of Russia. [report contains the following boxed texts]

Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption is made up of, among others
Russian internal affairs minister;
Russian security minister;
Russian defense minister;
Russian justice minister;
Russian foreign economic relations minister;
Chairman of Russian State Customs Committee;
Chairman of Russian State Committee for Anti-Monopoly Policy;
Director of Russian Foreign Intelligence Service;
Head of Russian State Tax Service;
Chief of Russian President's State and Law Administration.

Structure of Administration in Support of Russian Federation Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption
President of Russian Federation
Russian Federation Security Council
Russian Federation Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption
Administration in Support of Russian Federation Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption
Organization-Legal section
Section for analysis and prediction of crime rate, and coordination of activities of law and order organs and organs of executive branch
Secretarial sector
Logistics sector

Travkin Rejects Coalitions; To Quit Civic Union

MK2306115893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov, Olga Odintsova report: "Party Blocs Appear. Republicans and Democrats State Their Positions"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, held a press conference on 22 June. Travkin is known to have recently declared that he was quitting Civic Union and refusing membership in the election coalition he is forming. "We have gone autonomous specifically to run in the elections alone. Today we are not preoccupied with looking around for allies, and we will see what we can do before the elections," Travkin stated. Travkin also assured that Anpilov, Baburin, Zhirinovskiy, as well as Popov, Borovoy, and Zatulin were not going to be his allies. Travkin dislikes the former for their ideas, and the latter for the fact that as far as they are concerned everything is built "on falsification and lack of sincerity."

One can, however, suppose that the main rivalry during the coming elections will again be between popular rather than political leaders. In this connection it is obvious that the main rivalry will be between the "Yeltsinists" and "Rutskoyists" (that is, between the Bloc of Supporters of Reforms and the Coalition of Civil Forces).

'Public Opinion Leaders' Polled on Yeltsin

MK2306113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[Viktor Rodionov report under "NG-VP Poll" rubric: "Yeltsin's Main Success Stories and Failures: Before and After the Referendum. Public Opinion Leaders Assess President's Performance"]

[Text] The poll, commissioned by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, was conducted by the Vox Populi service (led by B.A. Grushin) based on telephone interviews of public opinion leaders. The latter include eight basic groups: people's deputies, members of the Russian Supreme Soviet; heads of ministers and other federal executive power bodies; leaders of political parties; directors of state and nonpublic sector establishments—private and share-holding enterprises, joint ventures and commercial banks; representatives of the supreme military command; directors of mass media organizations; and people prominent in the sphere of culture and science. The poll was conducted between 5 and 14 May 1993. The overall sample was 400 people.

The respondents were asked to answer the question: "How would you assess the president's performance in April?" For the first time in the current year the "good" grade [four out of five] has become the most common—it was cited by 45 percent of respondents. Others described Yeltsin's performance as "so-so" (32 percent), "poor" (11 percent), "very poor" (7 percent), and "excellent" (3 percent).

The average appraisal of the president's performance has also changed substantially since the beginning of the year: Compared with the January and the March polls, it has risen by 0.4 points, reaching 3.26 points in May.

An analysis of changes in the average rating among particular respondent groups has revealed a conflicting picture: In some categories the assessments remained unchanged, in others they have been changing consistently, and in still others they "have fluctuated from one side to another."

The most stable has been the assessment of the president's performance on the part of heads of executive power bodies (who have given positive appraisals the most often), people's deputies and political party leaders (who are more inclined to give negative assessments), as well as enterprise directors (where in each of the three polls the average grade has remained close to a "three").

There has also been a sharp change in the appraisal of Yeltsin's performance among media organization directors: Whereas in January the average grade within this group was 2.82 points, increasing in March to 2.89 points, in May it rose as high as 3.41 points.

The position of entrepreneurs and military leaders has undergone more complicated changes. In March, compared with the January figures, a substantial drop in the average

assessment within these groups occurred. In May, on the contrary, it rose rapidly.

How do the respondents motivate their assessments of the president's performance last month? Certain clues to that effect are provided by answers to the following questions: "Which of Yeltsin's steps do you regard as the most successful?" and "What has been his main failure, miscalculation, or loss?" (in percentages to the overall number of respondents).

First of all, it needs to be noted that the results of his activity in foreign policy are virtually never mentioned among Yeltsin's successes or failures.

Much more often it is the president's steps in the economy that are cited, mainly among his failures. State enterprise directors display the most active attitude to this area of Yeltsin's performance, with only 2 percent of representatives of the enterprise director corps seeing it as successful and 20 percent as a failure.

Yet the main attention is being given to his moves in domestic policy.

Naturally, the central event has been the 25 April referendum. It should be noted that main attention is being given not so much to the results of the referendum, as to its preparations: 43 percent of the respondents cited the latter among Yeltsin's main successes or his main failures. Most often the preparations for the referendum were assessed as a success by representatives of the business circles (entrepreneurs and state enterprise directors) and also by directors of news organizations. This opinion was least often cited by political party leaders, people's deputies, and military leaders.

The president's draft constitution has attracted considerable attention of public opinion leaders (9 percent of the respondents). It has received both positive (6 percent) and negative (3 percent) assessments.

Some groups have reacted to the president's cadre policy, with mostly political party leaders and entrepreneurs commending his appointment and dismissal decisions. Opposing assessments are given for the most part by media organization directors, representatives of the executive branch, and people prominent in science and culture.

Just like in the March poll, many respondents included among Yeltsin's successes or failures his striving to compromise or confrontation with various political forces, social groups, and legislative power bodies. However, whereas in March these received an approximately equal number of positive and negative assessments, in May they were seen mostly as failures. There is also a differentiated attitude within various respondent groups: Yeltsin's striving for confrontation is most often regarded as a mistake by military leaders, people's deputies, and media outlet directors. His search for compromise, on the other hand, is more often disapproved of by entrepreneurs and people prominent in science and culture.

Average assessments of the president's performance (on a five-point scale)

Groups of Respondents	Jan	Mar	May	Change of Assessment From Jan to May
Overall	2.86	2.86	3.26	+0.40
Executive Bodies	3.21	3.21	3.78	+0.40
Media Directors	2.82	2.89	3.41	+0.59
Entrepreneurs	3.34	3.09	3.40	+0.06
People prominent in science and arts	3.00	3.10	3.37	+0.37
Military leaders	3.04	2.43	3.29	+0.25
State enterprise directors	2.79	2.77	3.10	+0.31
People's Deputies	2.33	2.66	2.67	+0.34
Political party leaders	2.25	2.62	2.60	+0.35

	See as Success	See as Failure
Foreign policy	2	1
Economy	3	4
Search for political compromise	4	11
Trend toward political confrontation	4	26
Preparations for April referendum	35	7
Results of April referendum	14	2
New draft constitution	6	3
Cadre policy	4	7

Ostankino Official on Dispute With RTV

PM2306104593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 12 (page dated 19 Jun)

[Letter from Yuriy Bandura, deputy chairman of "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company, to IZVESTIYA editorial office; date not given: "...And You Will Not Be Judged"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already written about the ownership dispute that has arisen between the "Ostankino" Television and Radio Company and the "RTV-Press" joint-stock company. Today, by publishing a letter from one of the directors of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company to the editorial office, we are giving the other side the chance to set out its viewpoint on the essence of the conflict that has arisen.

The conflict between the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company and the "RTV-Press" joint-stock company, regardless of its content and underlying cause, enables us to reveal one of the most profound vices of the Russian periodical press—the desire to preach, to generalize without looking at the details, and to condemn without knowing the laws. I was prompted to this conclusion by reading the article "'Ostankino' Displays Enviable Impatience" in IZVESTIYA dated 8 June (No. 106)

Let us run through the text. IZVESTIYA writes: "...'Ostankino's' chiefs wanted to take immediate and full economic charge of the five-story building where OBSHCHAYA GAZETA, SEM DNEY, and TV-REVYU are printed before the entry into legal force of the Court of Arbitration's decision and without waiting for 'RTV-Press' to lodge an appeal against the verdict passed in favor of 'Ostankino' Russian State Television and Radio Company." This sentence contains everything—it could be conjecture, a half-truth designed to distort the truth, or just an error.

It is untrue that "'Ostankino's' chiefs wanted to take **immediate** charge." The article states that an outside security squad from the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company arrived at the building on Taganka Square Saturday 5 June. The court had decided to rule "RTV-Press's" incorporation documents invalid on 1 June. "Ostankino," however, decided to take its own property into its own protection only four days later and only after the founder of "RTV-Press"—the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property [Goskomimushchestvo]—had demonstrated that it was totally unwilling to agree with the court's decision: After all, the building and the "Ostankino" property located inside it has a book value of over 220 million rubles, but in fact the value is about 2 billion. And you must look after your property.

That this measure was justified was confirmed a week later by a ranking Goskomimushchestvo hired employee—the president of "RTV-Press": On leaving the building, to which he had been admitted to put the affairs of the liquidated joint-stock company in order, the president angrily ripped the cord of a telephone linking the security desk with the outside world out of its socket (an appropriate record of the incident has been drawn up). It is not hard to imagine what the consequences for "Ostankino" property would be if several hundred joint-stock company employees with the same attitude as its director were admitted to the building.

There is a half-truth with a subtext too in the claim that "Ostankino's" decision to replace the private "Delta" security service hired by "RTV-Press" with its own security service was made "without waiting for 'RTV-Press' to lodge an appeal." The fact of lodging an appeal against a decision by the Higher Court of Arbitration (or the lack of such an appeal) has absolutely no bearing on the current situation. Under the Arbitration Procedure Code (Article 110), decisions by courts of arbitration on disputes in the sphere of administration—rulings on the invalidity of acts by state organs—must be implemented **immediately**. "RTV-Press" could therefore either lodge or not lodge an appeal (in fact an appeal has been lodged). But the Higher Court of Arbitration's ruling on the invalidity of the Goskomimushchestvo's directives on the basis of which "RTV-Press" was created must be implemented immediately. Goskomimushchestvo and the joint-stock company, however, preferred to pretend that this requirement of the law does not apply to them.

It is untrue that "Ostankino" "wanted to take immediate and full economic charge of the five-story building." This desire on the part of "'Ostankino's' chiefs" would be simply unnatural: The building occupied by the joint-stock company without any procedural formalities whatsoever and with enviable impatience (which so offended the moral sense of the author of the IZVESTIYA article) has belonged to "Ostankino" for many years and was never for a moment handed over to anyone.

Nor was the building ever **seized**. "Ostankino's" outside security service merely demanded that people going into the building show their "Ostankino" identity cards (and not the cards introduced by "RTV-Press" which banned "Ostankino" employees from entering the building).

It is untrue that the "five-story building" is where OBSHCHAYA GAZETA, SEM DNEY, and TV-REVYU are printed. OBSHCHAYA GAZETA, judging by its publication data, is printed at 22 Kutuzovskiy Prospekt; "Ostankino's" SEM DNEY was and still is printed at 4 Second Troitskiy Lane.

The journalist's task is to check facts, clarify them, and present an objective picture of events to readers. In our opinion, the IZVESTIYA article has not fulfilled this task. What is even more distressing is that the newspaperhas not even attempted to check the authenticity of the facts and its own conclusions.

The articles censuring "Ostankino" contain bias in relation to the television and radio company. But the matter is extremely simple. Do you think "Ostankino" is acting

unlawfully? Then go to court! Yet throughout the conflict nobody has taken "Ostankino" to court, and nobody has gone to court to defend his rights (the appeal is no exception: It is against a decision made in respect of the television and radio company's suit).

The television and radio company's opponents prefer deals in smoke-filled rooms to a legal showdown. Back on 26 February "RTV-Press" President Ye. Yakovlev informed Press and Information Minister M. Fedotov: "Mr. V.I. Bragin, chairman of the 'Ostankino' Russian State Television and Radio Company, has taken a number of illegal steps with the aim of sabotaging and wrecking the existing directives of the Russian Federation Government and Goskomimushchestvo... I would ask you to immediately take measures to halt this arbitrary behavior by Mr. V.I. Bragin."

But if the chairman of "Ostankino" is such a criminal, why has this newly emerged enemy of the people been at large until now? And why has the offended party not gone to the law-enforcement organs? The answer, I think, is obvious: It is after all not so easy to make your personal enemy out to be a state criminal. But it seems that some hopes remain that denunciations will be effective. Which is borne out by the appeal to President Yeltsin published in IZVESTIYA.

The esteemed editors of these esteemed publications write to the president: "...There are methods which one must not use when fighting for one's rights, even if someone is disputing them... these methods certainly must not be used at all by someone who considers himself a democrat..." Fine words. Only why then, in postulating this just thesis, do those who proclaim it themselves behave in completely the opposite way, preferring to appeal to the authorities rather than appeal to the law?

As far as "Ostankino" is concerned, however, the television and radio company does indeed prefer to rely on strength. But on the strength of arguments, facts, and the law. Experience confirms that this path is the most correct one. Both for democrats and conservatives.

Government Pledges Support to Private Enterprise

LD2306121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1156 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow, June 23 (TASS)—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin pledged on Wednesday [23 June] that his government will give priority support to the development of private enterprise in the country.

"Without massive industrial production and full-blooded sector of entrepreneurs it is impossible to solve any of the tasks of the economic reform", he told the Second International Congress "Small and Medium-Scale Entrepreneurship in Russia".

Chernomyrdin said that state support to private enterprise has become the central direction in the work of the government of late. However, he added that most support will go to the ventures engaged in production and agriculture.

The government will boost state support to entrepreneurs, solve legal and financial issues. "This is a priority economic tasks", Chernomyrdin said.

He proposed to create an all-Russian centre of entrepreneurship which will consist of chambers of private businessmen and other organisations representing the interests of the Russian small-scale businesses.

First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko confirmed that the government is set to boost small and medium-scale businesses. He said a specialised financial, credit, personnel and information infrastructure is to be created to meet the demands of the business. A federal programme of state support to private enterprise will be worked out in August.

More on Congress of Small Enterprises

LD2306194393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The second international congress of Russia's small and medium enterprises has opened in Moscow. Yeltsin sent greetings to those taking part in it. He stated in particular that providing incentives and state support for owners of businesses should be enshrined in the new constitution of the state.

[Unidentified correspondent] Support for small business is one of the main areas of the reforms and a guarantee for their irreversibility, said [Prime Minister] Viktor Chernomyrdin at the congress, and the government supports first of all those who are doing business in industry and agriculture, that is to say, who are really producing something. In the near future a corresponding decision will come into effect; it provides for the allocation of 25 billion rubles from the state budget for the development of entrepreneurship.

The aim of the congress is to expand activities, to develop partnership, and to promote new contacts for Russian businessmen inside the country and abroad.

Specific proposals made on the basis of the results of two days of work will be incorporated in the federal program for the development of entrepreneurship in Russia.

There are about 10 million people working in the small business sector today. By 1994 this number will treble.

Businessmen's activities are being stifled by imperfect legislation: frequently one law repudiates another. However, it is also true that only one-tenth of entrepreneurs are engaged in production whereas more than half prefer doing business in trade and brokerage because current laws make this sphere of activity the most profitable.

Miners Say Coal Industry on 'Brink of Collapse'

LD2306134793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian Government is not fulfilling its obligations to the miners. In actual fact, the breaking of the tariff agreement means a debt to the miners of billions of rubles. The coal industry is on the brink of collapse, the coal industry's Independent Miners' Trade Union stated. Nevertheless, the trade union noted, it has faith in the forces of good sense among the leadership, but retains the right to strike. The Rostov miners picketing the Russian Government building today told an RIA correspondent today that if their demands are not met, they will not halt the mines but intend to demand the resignation of the government as well.

Impact of Coal Price Deregulation Pondered

PM2406110593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Leskov report: "Free Prices for Coal Could Strengthen or Shatter the Russian Economy"]

[Text] The Russian president has signed an edict whereby prices for coal will be freed as of 1 July, while the sector has been granted a number of foreign economic concessions, the main one being exemption from the obligatory sale of hard currency earned from the export of coal and the products of coal processing.

For all the outwardly progressive nature of this step, many experts and the miners themselves continue picketing Russian government buildings and regard the consequences of the deregulation of prices on one of the main sources of energy as highly ambiguous.

The need to change coal pricing policy was obvious. In the context of galloping inflation coal is the sole commodity whose price has not risen since September 1992. Today a tonne of coal is cheaper than a Snickers bar. As a result the coal industry has been a heavy burden on the budget. Wholesale prices have made up only 15 percent of the cost of a tonne of coal, state subsidies accounting for 85 percent.

Incidentally, the Ministry of Fuel and Energy and the "Ugol Rossii" Joint-Stock Company have proposed an alternative pricing mechanism with coal price increases phased in and monthly indexation of 10-16 percent. After tough debates in government the victorious viewpoint was that of the Ministry of Finance and Vice Premier Fedorov on a one-shot deregulation of prices, which is clearly linked to the desire to ease the budget burden as quickly as possible.

In the opinion of Yuriy Malyshev, president of "Ugol Rossii," the plan is rational in itself, and the development of the mechanism for the implementation of the decree with the definition of price zones countrywide and the elaboration of the rules governing excise duty began the very first day after the edict was signed. For all the good intentions of the decree, in the opinion of the sector leader, the danger in deregulating prices lies in the actual conditions prevailing in the Russian economy today. The country is beset by an epidemic of reciprocal nonpayments: The power and metallurgy industries owe the miners more than R100 billion. Given the lack of financial order in the economy, it is scarcely to be expected that a huge amount of money will immediately flood into the coal sector after the deregulation of prices.

Nor are the fears about the threat of wholesale closure of mines and mass unemployment in the sector expressed by miners at the meeting with Vice Premiers Soskovets and Fedorov devoid of foundation. The sixfold to eightfold increase in coal prices forecast by experts will inevitably lead to a falloff in demand. According to estimates, from 15 to 30 percent of mines currently operating could cease to exist after the deregulation of prices in Russia.

Of course, there is nothing terrible about shutting down obsolete mines, and the quicker this is done the better for the sector itself. The problem is the need to modernize the whole coal industry and open new rich open-cut mines. Not a single new mine has been commissioned in Russia in the last five years, whereas 24 were brought on stream even during the war years. By all appearances, even after the deregulation of prices the coal industry will be unable to survive without state subsidies, although their size will diminsih somewhat.

The sector leaders pin great hopes on the Federal Coal Industry Fund, which it is intended to create through the introduction of a 3-percent levy on the cost of all goods and services. However, the decision on this fund has still to be ratified by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Military Issues

Arzamas-16 Workers To Protest 'Catastrophic Situation'

PM2306105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Vladimir Gubarev: "Arzamas-16 Ready To Begin Strike"]

[Text] The developers of nuclear weapons are obliged to begin a strike. On 24 June a meeting will be held at the Arzamas-16 industrial zone at which they will announce they are unable to ensure the reliability and safety of Russia's nuclear weapons.

It is hard to believe! But we cannot keep quiet about the real state of affairs which has taken shape at both Russia's federal nuclear centers. Those who over the course of decades created nuclear and hydrogen weapons at Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70 are now in a critical state, at the boundary beyond which, against their will and convictions, they will no longer be able to monitor the weapons or ensure their safety and reliability. Moreover, they will be obliged to leave the federal centers and take no part in the dismantling and elimination of weapons because they have become accustomed to being responsible for their work, to doing it professionally, with a full guarantee that there will be no catastrophe. Today they cannot give that guarantee and so what is coming from Arzamas-16 is not a cry for help but a cry of warning of the terrible catastrophe which could occur if the weapons get out of control.

Do not believe those officials who try to persuade the country's public and leadership that the developers of nuclear warheads are angry that their wages are miserly and the word "strike" has appeared on their lips for the sole purpose of obtaining a wage increase. I say with the utmost responsibility: That is not so! Although, naturally, outstanding scientists and designers, sometimes with humor but more often with grief, have said that their wages are scarcely more than 10,000 rubles [a month], that they remain unpaid for several months, and that they are "saved" by their kitchen gardens and potato plots—luckily the Arzamas-16 leadership allocates plots to anyone who wants them.... In addition there are the constant accusations against the nuclear power workers, with claims that they are to blame for creating and testing nuclear weapons as though they were essential for their "scientific amusement" and not for ensuring the country's defense and security.

Of course this atmosphere does not promote a normal psychological climate. In addition there has been a drastic increase in the volume of work. The intensive transportation of nuclear munitions is under way and as we know the situation on our railroads is appalling—there are accidents almost every day. God has been merciful, so far cars carrying weapons have not been derailed... But the nuclear power workers of Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70 are not only responsible for the development, creation, and testing of weapons but also for their operation and for that reason all the economic confusion has been a great responsibility for them and they have borne it honorably, hoping that the situation is about to stabilize, and understanding will come that nuclear weapons are not tanks or all-terrain vehicles which can be chopped into bits and sent to be melted down.

Finally, the Russian president visited Arzamas-16. He saw modern models of weapons and said for all to hear that federal nuclear centers are necessary to Russia and immediately signed the relevant edicts. The nuclear power workers breathed a sigh of relief.

But their hopes were not destined to be realized. A year has pasted and the financing is irregular and minute sums are being allocated, scarcely enough to cover wages. The federal centers cannot buy the materials essential for the manufacturing cycle for producing weapons or dismantling them. There are no funds not only for supporting promising developments but also for implementing those which have already been begun. The unique equipment and testing units which are the only ones of their kind in the world are going out of commission because it is impossible to order the components and units essential for their repair—orders from the federal nuclear centers are simply not accepted by industrial enterprises because it is well known that they are on the debtors' file. There are constant threats that electricity and gas will be turned off—Arzamas-16 is not settling accounts with the power workers...

And now a new report has come in: It is essential to reduce expenditure again. You can only laugh at this government decision: How to reduce what they are not getting? But the very fact that this directive has appeared and the indifference toward the fate of Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70 unfortunately give rise to sad thoughts.

Russia has stated its decision to begin the process of nuclear arms reduction. These words came from the lips of the Russian president and the country's other top leaders. Few people know that it was the nuclear power workers who argued to the government that the disarmament process is essential. Russia does not need so many weapons for its defense.

But each word must be backed up by deeds, otherwise it is easy to turn a very topical and necessary idea into a farce.

"The safe destruction of nuclear munitions is a complex scientific and technical task and requires large financial and material expenditure, the construction of special installations for dismantling warheads and the long-term storage of plutonium, the development and production of special containers and devices. Dozens of years are required for the safe elimination of the stockpiled nuclear weapons"—that is the opinion of not of one person, not even of a highly professional scientist, but of all members of the union of nuclear weapons producers. This public organization unites all those who by their own hands and minds have created nuclear weapons. There are simply no people who are more knowledgeable. Why has their voice not been heeded?

On 10 June the developers of nuclear weapons sent an open letter to the president, government, and Supreme Soviet. In the letter they reported the catastrophic situation in which Russia's two federal centers find themselves and spoke of the danger which poses a real threat to Russia and the planet. They stated frankly: "Saving on the financing of priority work in the field of nuclear weapons safety cannot be justified by Russia's grave economic situation since expenses on the elimination of the consequences of a serious accident with just one

nuclear weapon would, according to U.S. and Russian specialists, amount to several hundred billion rubles (over $500 million)."

We have already made one attempt to "save money" on the safety of nuclear reactors—and we got Chernobyl. Surely its lessons will not remain solely in politicians' fiery speeches? Has the tragic experience of the Chernobyl catastrophe not taught anyone anything?

The meeting and the threatened strike at Arzamas-16 are of course a cry of despair.

Unfortunately, so far no one has responded to their call...

Rally To Be Held; Work Suspended

LD2306212793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Scientists and experts of the Arzamas-16 nuclear center in central Russia are going to stop the dismantling of nuclear arms and hold a rally on Thursday [24 June] in order to draw the attention of the authorities to the disastrous position of nuclear scientists.

A member of the nuclear warhead designers' union, Vladimir Pavlov, has said that the unique potential of the nuclear center was being ruined at a time when Russia continued to have a major nuclear arms potential. Pavlov warned that in a situation like that there was a growing risk of the leak of nuclear technology and the loss of skilled personnel.

Government To Resolve Protest

LD2406074293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Viktor Mikhaylov, head of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy, has expressed confidence in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the emergency measures taken by the Ministry of Atomic Energy will make it possible to ease the social tension in Arzamas-16, a closed town in Nizhnyy Novgorod Oblast. The 30,000-strong workforce at the federal nuclear center there has declared a pre-strike situation. A rally of the center's employees is set for 24 June. The minister said this has been caused, above all, by the fact that many scientists, designers, engineers, and workers did not receive their pay for April in full. He reported that President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin have signed a strict instruction to find the funds to clear up the debt to employees of the nuclear center immediately. Despite all the difficulties, Viktor Mikhaylov said, the federal nuclear center, which is going through a difficult period of conversion, is coping successfully with the program for manufacturing new civilian products.

Grachev on Start of Military Exercise

LD2206201793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev stated today that he does not at present see a global world war being unleashed and that the Russian Armed Forces are ready to protect people from possible local conflicts. The minister was speaking to INTERFAX at a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Pavel Grachev also stated that staff training exercises for command of troops [shtabnyye ucheniya po upravleniyu voiskami] of all Russian Armed Forces are due to start on 23 June. According to him, all commanders in chief and commanders will take up their positions in field command posts and practice placing troops on different stages of alert.

The head of the Russian Defense Ministry also stated that a number of major strategic exercises were scheduled over the summer.

Top Officers Criticize Policy of 'Colonel Yeltsin'

MK2206091093 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 18-25 Jun 93 (signed to press 10 Jun) p 2

[6TH-STORY news agency-signed report under the "From Unofficial Sources" rubric: "Army Top Brass Disgruntled With Yeltsin's Military Policies"]

[Text] It has transpired that military commanders, who gathered for the first operations meeting of senior command personnel in Moscow, allegedly sent a confidential letter to Yeltsin expressing their disgruntlement with the president's military policies.

Thus, addressing the president according to his official rank, "Colonel Yeltsin," the army top brass, apart from expressing their concern over the country's political and economic situation in general, voiced a number of complaints. In their view, the policy pursued currently with regard to the Armed Forces is not only undermining the country's defense capability, but has almost ruined the troops' military training system. The introduction of the so- called contract service in the Armed Forces (at present, over 100,000 servicemen serve in the Russian Armed Forces under contracts) has badly affected the training of competent military specialists. Those who joined the Armed Forces under a contract system proved by far "not the best" people, while the general educational level of the recruits declined and discipline loosened drastically. The creation of mixed units made up of regular recruits and the contractees under a Russian Defense Ministry order triggered constant conflicts in training centers and combat units.

The high-ranking army officers also express their displeasure with what they perceive as "unjustified reductions of military equipment and armaments," when

modern combat hardware, regardless of its mechanical condition, is written off for the sake of established ceilings and quotas. Moreover, they believe, the president's military policies "boil down to awarding the ranks of general to senior officers on the eve of a fresh political crisis."

Deputies Group Complains About Situation in Armed Forces

LD2306123493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Reform is not being carried out in the Army, the social protection of servicemen is not being guaranteed, and corruption in the Russian Armed Forces is intensifying. This statement has again been made by the deputies' group Reform of the Army. At a news conference today there was once more discussion of the moral image of Defense Minister Grachev and General Shaposhnikov, who are alleged to have privatized their dachas illegally. The senior coordinator of the deputies' group Vitaliy Urazhtsev regretted that the supreme leadership of the Army was using military bunkers for the wrong purpose—to pickle cucumbers and cabbage.

Yet, there was more sorrow than humor in the words of those who spoke. Cases of bullying and drug addiction in the Armed Forces were cited, and of failure to pay officers' salaries. There was mention, for example, of atomic submarines standing idle in the Northern Fleet, on the maintenance of which millions are being spent. God forbid that the NATO forces concentrated around the borders of Russia should make a decision, the group's coordinator Anatoliy Koltunov speculated mysteriously; although it is true, he did not specify what decision. The Army is disorganized, and the top leadership is keeping quiet about all this, the representatives of the deputies' group stated. The worst thing, in their view, is that, allegedly by order of the Defense Ministry, they are not allowed to visit troops, and deputies' questions and addresses which they send to the president remain unanswered.

Note Rise in Crime Within Army

LD2306172193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1215 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] A news conference was held today by the Army Reform deputies' group in the Russian parliamentary center. Its title was rather unusual—Army elite, lawlessness within the law. Our correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reports:

[Ruvinskiy] It was stated at the news conference that the reform as such is not proceeding in the Army. Moreover, facts bear witness to negative trends. Among servicemen there are many mercenary crimes, cases of robbery and brigandage have risen, and there has been a noticeable increase in bribery.

Soldiers are still being killed. One death in five is suicide because of taunting and bullying. In the opinion of the news conference participants—people's deputies and activists of the Shchit Union—monetary funds designated for servicemen thread their way through various structures, and if they do reach their destination it is with great delay. Owing to months of non-payment of pay there are cases when pilots refused to take planes up on combat patrols.

At the same time, millions of rubles are literally thrown into the water. According to Urazhtsev, 97 nuclear submarines in the north are kept afloat. Crews serve on them, they are guarded, and 6 million rubles a year goes on the upkeep of each submarine. Their fate has not been decided. At the same time, in five months 500 ranks of general have been awarded. And the number of generals in the Russian Army now exceeds that of the former USSR Army.

Cases of corruption are not investigated because the very concept of corruption does not exist in the criminal code. So far the question of the dachas privatized by the military elite in the Moscow region has not been resolved. This is what Vitaliy Urazhtsev, coordinator of the Army Reform deputies' group said:

[Begin Urazhtsev recording] The dachas privatized by Army General Grachev, Army General Kobets, Colonel Generak Chekov, General Prudnikov, and also Shaposhnikov—Shaposhnikov is today Air Marshal, and he privatized not only a dacha but also a bunker in which he pickles gherkins, cabbage, and plans to conserve apples. We have asked for all these to be handed over. Their value last year was 3 billion [currency not specified] and today they are worth 30 billion. They were illegally privatized by a huge number of generals and colonels of today's Ministry of Defense and the CIS Joint Armed Forces. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Shchit Union Deputy Chairman Oleg Nikonov spoke of the reasons for all these phenomena and their possible consequences:

[Begin Nikonov recording] Corruption in the top echelon is not due to impoverishment or indigence, but pathological dread and mistrust of reform, and the possible democratic reforms in society. In this way a fifth column has emerged which will betray democracy, which will stab it in the back from fear of losing the high ground. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] At the same time, it was stated that the Army Reform deputies' group, together with a number of political organizations, will in the very near future start a campaign for the election of Alekstandr Rutskoy as president at the next elections.

Yeltsin Lauds Northern Fleet for Service to State

LD2406092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0735 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has sent greetings to the personnel, workers, and employees of the Northern Fleet.

Yeltsin said "The Northern Fleet has been securely guarding the coasts of the Motherland for six decades. Many heroic pages of Russian glory belong to it. The feat of naval seamen during the Great Patriotic War will never die. The peacetime exploration of the Arctic is an inseparable part of the Northern Fleet," the message says. "Since the time of Peter the First, the founder of the Russian Fleet, the profession of naval seamen has deservedly enjoyed the love and respect of the people. Special words of gratitude go to you, of the Northern Fleet, who serve in difficult and severe climatic conditions."

"The St. Andrew's flag, a symbol of the might and invincibility of the Russian Fleet, proudly flutters above your vessels. I believe that the glorious fighting traditions of all generations of Russian naval seamen will continue in future to live on in the Northern Fleet."

Expert Denies Missile Telemetry Information Leak

PM2206135793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by Gennadiy Khromov, Russian Federation Defense Industry Committee disarmament expert: "Provisions of Treaty Are Being Implemented"]

[Text] Of late articles have appeared in certain publications whose authors claim that the Russian Federation has come out with some kind of "new initiatives" on telemetric data transmitted from strategic missiles during test launches. Thus, it is claimed, an additional source of leaks of important secret information is opened up, which could do considerable damage to the country's defense capability.

I will not venture to judge what motivated the writers of these articles. Perhaps they were after another scoop, or perhaps incompetence is that commonplace in our country. But it is all the more important to find out how things actually stand.

Within the framework of their pledges under the Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and Limitation Treaty (the START Treaty) signed 31 July 1991 the Soviet Union and the United States renounced the coding and jamming of telemetric data during launches of strategic ballistic missiles. The sides acted on the obvious logic that with the easing of international tension and the move to real arms control the preservation of coding cannot be seen as anything but an anachronism. Moreover, when the treaty was signed it was agreed that even if it did not come into force within the year (although no one then could have imagined that the USSR would break up and that Ukraine would be to blame for delaying ratification of this document) such an obvious provision as the noncoding and nonjamming of telemetry should nonetheless be observed.

A year on the parties to the treaty (now the United States, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine) have acknowledged the need to comply with its spirit and implement the main provisions of the treaty and have decided to continue the accepted practice of transmitting telemetry without coding and jamming. A ruling on this matter was issued during fall 1992 in the form of corresponding statements on behalf of the governments of all the above five states.

So, what "new Russian Federation initiative" can there be? After all, the accords that have been reached are not unilateral. They apply equally to Russia, the United States, and the other parties to the treaty.

One must also remember the following. The START Treaty envisages that once it has come into force telemetry should be used as an additional means of monitoring [kontrol] its key provisions such as, for instance, the number of warheads on a particular type of missile. In this connection it was agreed that once the treaty has come into force the sides will exchange magnetic tapes bearing information about each launch and certain initial firing data making it possible to obtain information from these tapes for verification. And nothing more! Then it is up to each country's specialists how they protect its interests. At any rate it may be asserted that access to the missiles' most important specifications and performance characteristics—such as accuracy, combat readiness, degree of protection, the operating parameters of the automated mechanism [parametry raboty avtomatiki], etc—can be safely barred to "prying eyes."

What is more, in order to restrict access to the most sensitive information (information that has no bearing on the parameters monitored) the treaty allows information transmitted from the warheads to be coded during 11 launches a year. Not to mention the fact that we and the United States use nonstandard delivery vehicles to test [otrabotka] the warheads for which no restrictions at all are envisaged on the means of transmitting the telemetry. So the claims that via this telemetry warhead data are transmitted enabling the United States or anyone else to "make flexible adjustments to their ABM systems" is, to put it mildly, totally unfounded.

Now, until the START Treaty comes into force, magnetic tapes containing recorded telemetry and the corresponding initial firing data are not being handed over although the specific procedure for this handover has been coordinated within the framework of the activity of the special committee whose task is to facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the START Treaty.

Pacific Fleet Takes Antipiracy Measures

OW2306114693 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 22 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] The Russian Pacific Fleet has commenced combat duty to guard Russian shipping due to an increase of acts of piracy against vessels of transport and fishing enterprises of the Far East region in the seas of Southeast Asia, right up to the Sea of Japan. A ship of the BPK [large antisubmarine warfare ship]-type is on round-the-clock state of readiness to assist our seamen and fishermen. It is equipped with guns and rocket armament and has operational capability to get to the scene.

Defense Ministry Official Arrested for Mafia Links

PM2306155793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Igor Chernyak report: "While the Marshals Squabble Over the Army's Future, the Colonels Are Arming the Mafia]

[Text] As announced by Sergey Bogdanov, deputy chief of the Russian Security Ministry Moscow Administration press service, on the evening of 17 June a high-ranking official of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry was arrested by Russian Security Ministry staffers. His name and position are being concealed for the time being in the interests of the inquiry, but according to certain information the arrested man headed the artillery weapons service of one of the subunits of the military department. According to Security Ministry information, he is suspected of links with a mafia grouping involved in the trade of weapons, ammunition, and precious metals.

This arrest is the latest, and probably not the last, link in an investigation into the affair being conducted by the service for combating terrorism, and military counterintelligence under the Russian Security Ministry Security Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, the Russian Security Ministry Sergiyev Posad City Department, and the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry Regional Administration for Organized Crime. In the words of Bogdanov, as a result of several operations carried out by these structures, the network of arms manufacturers and traders in Moscow Region was fundamentally smashed at the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993, but, like a phoenix from the ashes, it soon began to rise up again. Consequently, arrests started afresh in April—a group of officers and civilians working in Mozhaysk artillery depots has now been apprehended. Their connection with a limited liability partnership set up under the Tula Cartridge Plant, whence the ammunition was stolen, was revealed. The next link in this chain was the 11 June arrest in a downtown Sergiyev Posad hotel of a colonel from a troop unit located close by. The colonel had tried to sell local bandits 82 pistol pens [strelyayushchaya avtoruchka]. Before long, a further two senior officers from this unit were arrested, along with an ensign and two civilians. Apart from the manufacture of pistol*pens, they were involved in the trade of cartridges, as well as gold and silver items melted down from instruments and equipment intended for military use. What is more, the investigation led to the Russian Ministry of Defense.

As Bogdanov reported, immediately after the arrests leading local administration staffers closely followed by military officials began to put immense pressure on Security Ministry staffers. During a search of the arrested colonel's garage, where, incidentally, a large quantity of cartridges was found, a large bribe was offered to one of the staffers involved in the operation. In connection with this, Bogdanov stated that if efforts to influence the investigation do not cease, the Security Ministry will publish the names of those military and civilian officials who are demonstrating what, in his view, is an unhealthy interest in this affair.

Six Satellites Launched From Plesetsk

LD2406083493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0805 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun—At 0812 hours Moscow time [0412 GMT] today, from the Plesetsk cosmodrome, by means of one Tsiklon rocket, the launching of six artificial Earth satellites was effected: Cosmos-2252, Cosmos-2253, Cosmos-2254, Cosmos-2255, Cosmos-2256, and Cosmos-2257. The launch was carried out in the interests of the Russian Ministry of Defense.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press center of the Military Space Forces of the Russian Ministry of Defense that the movement of the six space apparatuses was proceeding along orbits close to those calculated. Guidance of the satellites was being effected by the chief center for the control and testing of space apparatuses, located in the town of Golitsino-2 near Moscow and structurally forming part of the Military Space Forces.

The launch of the Tsiklon carrier rocket took place within the framework of the practical implementation at Plesetsk cosmodrome of the Ekos program, devised by the military jointly with industry. Under the program, from 13 July 1992, all launches of carrier rockets of this type are being carried out with 30 percent reduced residue of the components of the rocket fuel in the tanks of the first stage, which effects an increased degree of ecological cleanliness of the space rocketry.

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Discusses Corruption; Rutskoy Attends

LD2406090693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0748 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—The Russian parliament is examining corruption of government officials at its session on Thursday [24 June]. The key report is delivered by First Deputy Procurator-General Nikolay Makarov.

He heads a special commission recently set up by the Russian procurator-general's office to examine materials on corruption of government officials.

The session is attended by Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy who alleged wide-spread corruption among high-ranking officials.

Discusses Economic Situation

LD2406094193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet started today's plenary session with discussion of issues that need to be considered before the parliamentary recess.

[Unidentified correspondent] As Ruslan Khasbulatov noted, the parliamentary recess is planned for the middle of July. The deputies cast a majority of votes in support of proposals from Baburin and Ivanov on holding an economic conference with deputies at all levels and representatives of the components of the Federation taking part on one issue—the economic situation in the country, because the government is not capable of overcoming the current crisis.

The issues of the Congress of People's Deputies, the situation in the coal industry and miners' demands, amendments to the law on the media and the draft law on a state monopoly of alcohol products were also put on the agenda for the session.

At the morning session, the members of parliament heard a report from the special commission of the Russian Procuracy on investigation of material relating to officials' corruption. The report was delivered by Nikolay Makarov, the head of the commission and first deputy procurator general.

Further on 24 Jun Session

LD2406103293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] Quite important events have taken place here in the work of the Supreme Soviet session. For example, during debates on the agenda, a decision was made to discuss—this may take place tomorrow—the issue of convening the Tenth Congress of People's Deputies. So far nothing has been said about the date for convening it, but the issue has been set: it is to discuss the situation in the economy.

In addition, after the interval today, possibly after 1500 hours [1100 GMT] a report by Minister of Security Barannikov will be heard about the article in PRAVDA. The article alleged a planned seizure of the White House and the training of a special group in connection with it.

But at the center of attention during today's morning session was a report by Deputy Procurator General Nikolay Makarov. He is heading a special commission of the Procuracy to investigate documents connected with corruption by officials. This commission was set up after the speech here in parliament by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and was set up to verify and conclude the investigation into the facts cited by him. This is what the deputy procurator general said. Incidentally, the Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on the full relay of the recording of this session today on radio—as far as I know this is going on now on Radio Rossii—and on the first channel of television—this may possibly be broadcast this evening.

A commission of six independent procurators has managed over this period to partially investigate the documents. About 3,000 pages of a variety of documents have been examined. This work is continuing, and several bits of information have been confirmed in the commission's view. But many were known before and investigations into them were already being carried out. For instance, breaches of the privatization program have been discovered, in particular during the privatization of the Lenin stadium in Moscow for example. There have been many cases of offenses during the sale of spirits on Russian territory.

In addition, a special section of the report was devoted to violations connected with the Russian House of Science and Culture which, as we know, is in Berlin. A whole series of offenses has been committed there, and a criminal case has been instituted. In the view of the Procuracy, Mikhail Poltoranin is involved in these offenses.

The situation concerning red mercury was mentioned. As we know, information about this was also presented in the vice president's report. According to the Procuracy's investigation, this product is not produced at all on the territory of Russia and in fact cannot exist. However, numerous inquiries about obtaining it have come in from foreign firms and for very large sums of money indeed. A Yekaterinburg concern was given the right to manufacture and sell red mercury. There will be

a further investigation into this material, and the Procuracy expects that the results of this will become known no earlier than the autumn.

As for the Harvest-90 checks, at present, in order to cancel the debt on these, 373 billion rubles is needed to complete the program. Many commercial structures that were involved in it have not fulfilled their obligations. Specifically, raw materials worth many billions of dollars have been exported from Russia, while only 65.8 million ruble's worth of goods have been imported.

In addition, a large number of criminal cases have been opened in connection with the distribution of goods already imported into Russia for Harvest-90 checks. The Procuracy has established that Vladimir Shumeyko issued a number of instructions detrimental to the state. Serious violations were also committed by the Western Group of Forces during the privatization of property, during the sale of property of the troops being withdrawn. There have been cases of theft, bribery, and forgery here also.

The Procuracy's report also cited many other pieces of information. At the end of the Procuracy's report and the subsequent debate, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision in accordance with which it is proposed that the president settle the matter of the resignations of Shumeyko and Poltoranin. This decision also outlines other measures, but let me remind you that the report by the Procuracy was only an interim one. A further report by the Procuracy is expected to be heard before the end of the session's work.

The deputies who spoke afterward drew attention to the fact that it was a case mainly of violations committed by officials in executive power, but evidently there are many violations by those who work in legislative power also. In particular, Deputy Zalevskiy said that, during the report, the knees of many in the hall were probably shaking. Specific persons were even named. Khasbulatov said that there are sufficient facts now to make the federal government resign. But since the investigation has not ended, the decision will be sufficient for the time being.

A two-hour break has been announced at the session, after which it will continue its work. I think that we can report further details during the Mayak "Panorama" afternoon program.

President's Communications Law Returned for Improvement

LD2306194193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] At separate sessions, both chambers of Russia's Supreme Soviet today rejected and returned for improvement the draft law on the president's communications network, submitted by the president of Russia. The conclusions reached in several parliamentary committees and commissions point to the importance of providing the president, who is also the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, with a reliable communications network wherever he may be, including abroad. At the same time, the Commission for Issues Relating to Economic Reform and Property points out that there are no grounds for saying that the legal basis allowing the functioning of the president's communications network is the constitution of the Russian Federation. Other commissions also remarked on this.

Deputies Urge Constitutional Court To Protect Rutskoy

MK2306101693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Balashov report: "Supreme Soviet Files Petition With Constitutional Court. Parliamentarians Demand Court Protection for Aleksandr Rutskoy"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the Constitutional Court received a petition filed by a group of people's deputies requesting constitutional protection for the status of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. It was clear, however, that what the deputies were concerned about was not an abstract status of the vice president, but the fate of a specific person, Aleksandr Rutskoy, who had fallen from grace. According to observers, the "vice president's case" would serve to subject the Constitutional Court to a sort of loyalty test.

A pretext for filing the petition with the Constitutional Court was offered by Boris Yeltsin's steps against the dissenting Aleksandr Rutskoy. It is hard to imagine, however, that the Constitutional Court will deliberate on whether it was constitutional or not to reduce the vice president's guard and staff or to take his automobile and a personal doctor away from him. The Fundamental Law does not say a single word about what perks the vice president is to have by rank. Thus, the Constitutional Court may just as well dismiss the case. [passage omitted]

According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY observers, the Constitutional Court's attitude to the Rutskoy case must show whether Valeriy Zorkin is ready to follow in the wake of the president's political reform or whether he continues to toe parliament's line.

Supreme Soviet Amends Law on Freedom of Conscience

LD2306174293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The House of Nationalities of the Russian parliament has read for the first time and approved of, a bill of amendments to the law of the freedom of conscience.

The amendments strictly limit the activity of foreign religious organizations in Russia. From now on they will

be allowed to act [word indistinct] Russia's religious organizations and only with their consent.

Fedorov Walks Out of Parliament Over 'Tax Police' Clash

MK2206104093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 27, 22 Jun 93 (signed to press 21 Jun) p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Fedorov Walks Out of Parliament Session Hall]

[Text] Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, representative of the Russian Federation president, walked out of the Russian Federation parliament session after deputies disagreed with President Boris Yeltsin's proposal that a federal tax police should be under the Russian Federation Finance Ministry. The president introduced this amendment to the law "On Federal Organs of Tax Police" and returned the law for revision in parliament. The majority of deputies, however, voted for the original text of the legislative act that envisions the creation of an independent agency of tax police.

Yuriy Voronin, deputy speaker of the Russian parliament, who chaired the session, withdrew the question from discussion following Fedorov's walkout, promising that he would inform Russia's president in writing about the behavior of his representative in the Russian Federation parliament.

Regional Affairs

North Ossetian Situation 'Increasingly Tense'

LD2406151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1454 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 24 TASS—The situation in the zone of a state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetia is becoming increasingly tense, ITAR-TASS learned from the headquarters of the temporary administration. Attacks on militia posts and assaults committed for the purpose of robbery are becoming more frequent. An increasing number of casualties have been reported. Two drivers and a worker were killed in a car explosion on the outskirts of Vladikavkaz, which was caused by a mine attached to the car.

Over the past twenty four hours 17 crimes have been reported in the emergency zone and 12 people were detained for administrative offenses. A total of seven firearms, explosives, petrol bottles and a hundred of cartridges of various calibre were confiscated.

A working meeting between representatives of force ministries, secretaries of security councils and prosecutors of North Ossetia and Ingushetia with the mediation of representatives of the temporal administration, was held in the village of Chermen—the centre of the armed conflict, on Thursday [24 June]. The meeting focused on issues of interaction between law enforcement bodies of the two republics and forces of the temporal administration for combating crime in the region and finding ways for peace and accord.

Russian Checkpoint Attacked

LD2306171693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By Valeriy Shanayev, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 23 Jun—The situation on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, where a state of emergency is in force, has become extremely exacerbated. Over the past 24 hours several instances of shelling from Ingushetia were recorded. A Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs checkpoint in the village of Chermen in Prigorodnyy rayon came under fire during the latter part of 22 June. Two Russian soldiers were wounded. The fire was returned. Four Ingush citizens who fired on the checkpoint were detained. Major General Aleksandr Khodov, secretary of the North Ossetian Security Council, confirmed reports that several helicopters not displaying identification signs carried out provocative flights in the region of the Ossetian villages of Zilga and Olginskoye at about 0245 today.

Chernomyrdin Meets North Ossetian, Ingush Leaders

LD2306175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin has held talks with Chairman of the North Ossetia parliament Akhsarbek Galazov and Ingush President Ruslan Aushev today.

The talks, which continued over an hour and a half, were attended by leaders of ministries of defense, security and the interior, the Russian State Committee for Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities and the State Committee for Emergencies.

During the meeting the participants discussed measures for the stabilisation of the situation in the region and issues of restationing the temporary administration on the territory where a state of emergency was declared, ITAR-TASS learned from official sources in the Russian Government.

An agreement was reached on issues of the formation of a mixed commission for the realisation of agreements previously reached between the conflicting sides on a mechanism of the settlement of refugees.

Ingush, North Ossetian 'Tough Stand' Blocks Peace

LD2306163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—"A tough stand taken by Ingush and North Ossetian leaders and the unwillingness to come to terms can trigger new clashes at any time," Vyacheslav Mikhailov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Affairs of the Federation, said at a news conference today. He pointed out that his assessment coincides with the opinion of the Council of Nationalities of the Russian parliament.

According to Vyacheslav Mikhailov, "The confrontation between leaders of the two republics is encouraged by those who profiteer on arms and drug sales in the region."

Mikhailov said that Ingush leaders are making tough demands that the Prigorodnyy region, adjoining Vladikavkaz, should belong to Ingushetia. For their part, North Ossetian leaders are making tough statements declaring that the Ossetians and the Ingush cannot live together. Mikhailov rejected rumours alleging that Russian federal bodies of power intend to establish a federal form of government in the Prigorodnyy region.

Mikhailov pointed out a number of conditions which should be observed for the settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict: To make a legal assessment of events which took place in October-November and which caused numerous casualties on both sides; to ensure the return of refugees of the Ingush nationality - residents of North Ossetia who have never been involved in criminal activities; both sides should coordinate places where they should live together, Mikhailov said.

"In the long run, in order to normalise the situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, an agreement should be reached between leaders of both republics, which should eliminate the confrontation," Mikhailov said.

Khanty-Mansiysk Begins 'Competition' for Oil Development

PM2206131393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Nikolay Dudnikov report under "Oil" rubric: "Khanty-Mansiysk Seeks Investors in Houston"]

[Text] Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug is the largest province in Russia and also, probably, in the world in terms of oil reserves. This circumstance is increasingly persistently attracting the gaze of business circles in nearby and foreign parts.

But the people of Khanty-Mansiysk are in no hurry to part with their natural riches. Having announced a competition to develop the oilfields, the okrug administration jointly with the Russian Federation Committee for Geology and the Use of Natural Resources has begun the phased implementation of the competition program.

Packages with geological information on 11 underground deposits of "black gold" have been put on sale in Houston and London.

Such major oil-extracting firms as Mobil, Petroleum, and Total have aspired to the right to extract it. The next stage of the competition was held in Moscow. As distinct from the auction held in the United States and in Britain, Russian firms, including "Lukoyl," "Menatep," and others, participated in it in addition to foreign firms.

But what goal are the "oil kings" pursuing by organizing an entire series of displays?

Naturally, they are trying to sell at a higher price that which belongs to them. For example, just the sale of a geological information package brought the okrug more than $1 million. But still the chief thing that the okrug needs now is the latest technologies capable of increasing oil extraction from the seam with the minimum impact on nature. These are the criteria by which the organizers of the tender will be guided in deciding the winners of the right to develop the Khanty-Mansiysk oilfields.

Khanty-Mansiysk Leader Rejects 'Pressure' on Moscow

PM2306094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Ivashkin, head of administration of Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, by correspondent Igor Petrov; place, date not given: "Let's Dispense With Demarches"]

[Text] The Russian Federation is made up of 21 republics, 58 krays and oblasts, and only 10 autonomous okrugs. In the heat of the political battles no one pays heed to their voices. And this is a mistake. It is, to say the least, rash and shortsighted, not to say dangerous, to disregard the interests of the autonomous formations.

Our correspondent Igor Petrov asked Sergey Ivashkin, head of administration of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, his opinion on relations between the center and the regions. This is what he said.

[Ivashkin] This year approximately 170 million tonnes of oil (around 70 percent of all Russian oil extracted) will be obtained on the territory of our okrug, and at least 10 million cubic meters of commercial timber will be procured. The revenue section of our budget will amount to 740 billion rubles and $60 million, which is three times more than Tatarstan.

And this is only one-fifth of what the okrug produces and creates. I cannot describe as normal the practice whereby we receive $27-30 (that is, less than one-quarter of its price) for each tonne of fuel extracted here while at the

same time tackling the very complex tasks of protecting the environment and developing the territorial infrastructure.

However, we are fundamentally opposed to political decisions affecting either a region or Russia as a whole being made unilaterally. We will seek to attain our objectives by negotiation and the search for a mutually acceptable compromise, not by pressure.

If the political line toward the regions proclaimed by the president and government were put into practice more consistently and persistently at the level of specific ministries and departments, the Russian state system would be much more stable.

I would not say that the center crudely fleeces the regions, employing solely administrative-edict methods. Rather we have our resources confiscated in a civilized manner through various kinds of ordinances, instructions, and decisions by departments. These are not made at government or Supreme Soviet level but are calmly issued in accordance with the old traditional scheme of things.

This must be combated—but not through demarches and ultimatums. Is there any point in using the Constitutional Conference as an extra lever of pressure on the president and the federal organs of power? I regard this practice as absolutely futile and as contrary to the long-term interests of the people of Russia. By extracting some concessions now the regions could lose considerably more in the future. But millions of Russians anyway will be the losers.

Shafranik Signs Agreement With Krasnoyarsk on Oil

PM2406081793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the "Energy" rubric]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk Kray will get finance for future oil and gas exploration and organization of their extraction.

This is shown by a special agreement signed by the administration chiefs of Krasnoyarsk Kray and the kray's Taymyr and Evenki Okrugs and also by Yuriy Shafranik, head of the Fuel and Energy Ministry.

Chechen Vice President Urges Firing Police Heads

LD2306125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1206 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Groznyy, June 23 (TASS)—Chechen Vice-President Zelimkhan Yandarbyev demanded to urgently dismiss head of the criminal police department Saipudy Khasanov and his deputy Imran Asmayev for "committing an office crime by releasing the arrested members of the opposition which opposed the authorities with weapons in hand".

He also urged a government meeting to dismiss Prosecutor-General Elza Sheripova and said it is impossible to employ in high-ranking state positions those people who promoted disorders in the republic, the CHECHEN-PRESS news agency said.

President Dzhokhar Dudayev told the government meeting that the damage caused during an armed clash with the opposition amounted to 17 billion roubles. "The bill should be paid by the leaders of the opposition", he said.

The president added that all directors of enterprises and of gas filling stations should be sacked in case they do not daily hand in their money to the bank.

In the meantime, sources in Groznyy told TASS that Dudayev had sent Deputy Foreign Minister Zainalbek Shamilev to Moscow to look for contacts with Russia. No details of the visit of the Chechen envoy were available in Moscow.

However, it is known that Chechen opposition leader Yaragi Mamodayev is also staying in Moscow and met Russian parliamentarians and government officials. He is said to refrain from discussing political problems and focuses on most burning financial and economic relations with Russia.

Maritime Kray Administration Head Appointed

PM2206155193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 2

["Official" column report prepared by Valentina Proskurina: "Appointments"]

[Text] Ye. Nazdratenko, president of the "Vostok" mining company, has been appointed head of the Maritime Kray Administration.

S. Krasavchenko, member of the "Democratic Russia" deputies' faction, has received the post of first deputy leader of the Russian Federation Presidential Administration.

Military Industry Chief Resigns

PM2206135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Untitled report from news agencies column]

[Text] Heads of major defense enterprises are continuing to resign in Maritime Kray.

According to unconfirmed data, Viktor Paulo, general director of the Vladivostok "Dalpribor" production association, announced his resignation at a meeting of

the labor collective. He said that he was leaving because the Russian Government was no longer committed to military production.

Caucasian Group Assails Soviet of Nationalities

LD2306200593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Vladikavkaz, the executive committee of the Assembly of North Caucasian Democratic Forces appealed today to all the political forces in this region to give up any form of cooperation with Ramazan Abdulatipov. It called on the entire Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian parliament to resign because its activites have led to the collapse of the nationality policy.

Kaliningrad Suspends Federal Law on Customs Tariffs

LD2406045593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0446 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad June 24 TASS—Authorities of the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad on the Baltic Sea suspended a law of the Russian parliament as it contradicts a presidential decree granting privileges to the free trade zone established in the region.

The Kaliningrad regional council decided on Wednesday to suspend the introduction of the law on customs tariff in the enclave because it cancels the privilege of local producers to export their goods and import products necessary for home production duty-free.

Local legislators decided that the law can result in a bankruptcy of many enterprises and companies which risked to invest in production in the enclave.

Observers recalled that during his last year visit to Kaliningrad Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov promised to help accelerate the creation of the free trade zone. They also wonder which resolution the customs committee will abide by—that of the republican or the Supreme Soviet.

Leaders of the enclave left for Moscow to clear up the situation.

Cossacks Ask Yeltsin To Let Them Have Kuril Island

MK2406110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" rubric]

[Text] Sakhalin—Local Cossacks have addressed a request to the president of Russia to let them have in perpetuity the Kuril island of Shikotan, and for withdrawing the Russian troops stationed there. This was announced by Vladimir Kavak, chief of the Sakhalin Cossack troops headquarters press center. In his words, the Cossacks plan to make Shikotan their island, and settle it with some 100 families who are ready to plow the land, grow crops, and perform military duties guarding Russia's borders. According to V. Kavak, the Cossack troops headquarters plan to invite—to settle and develop the island—"unsettled [beskhrebetnyye] Cossacks of Siberia, the Terek, and Chechnya" who would be glad to live in accordance with the old Cossack traditions.

Kuzbass Plant Develops High-Productivity Mining Machine

PM2306161993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By Nikolay Chirkov and Viktor Voronov, from the Kuzbass; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In the Kuzbass, where, following the disintegration of the Union, miners are short of mining equipment, a unique piece of equipment has been developed. Essentially this marks the establishment of a new branch of industry—Siberian machine building for the mining industry.

[Chirkov] The new automated complex will soon be working at great depths, withstanding enormous pressure. Thanks to automation, miners will, to all intents and purposes, be kept out of the dangerous coalface zone. The machine is designed to double miners' labor productivity.

However, the achievement of the machine builders, the Kuzbass "Uglemash" Association, lies also in having created a powerful machine-building center for the mining industry essentially in a vacuum and within a short period of time. The teething troubles are now a thing of the past. Three mining complexes are currently being assembled, and in the near future the Siberians are planning tp produce 10 such machines per year. It took just over a year to get production going. Siberian defense industry enterprises have helped. Specialists at the "Yurginskiy Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Association, together with colleagues from Tomsk, Novosibirsk, Kemerovo, and Anzhero-Sudzhensk are developing a range of mining machinery capable of working on seams of various thicknesses. The first product of the Siberian mining equipment industry is currently being readied for dispatch to the Raspadskaya mine. Miners from other Kuzbass mines are waiting in line for the powerful new equipment.

Privatization Opens New Prospects for Murmansk

PM2206134193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1305 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By Dmitriy Konchalovskiy, Yuliya Pavlikova, and Aleksey Kirillov; from the "Red Square" program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Konchalovskiy] The program of mass privatization in Russia is more than just a theory. It is having concrete results in specific Russian cities. The Murmansk Oblast Property Fund was set up at the end of 1992 and the first check auctions were held in the city the following February. The Ship Repair Yard Joint-Stock Company was one of the first to travel the hard road from share flotation to check auction. [Video shows Sergey Khashabov, general director of the Ship Repair Yard Joint-Stock Company]

[Khashabov] Eighty percent of the shares have been sold or transferred to the labor collective. In other words, the state still owns 20 percent. It's not yet clear just what's going to happen to that 20 percent, although we do have a privatization plan and the deadline is drawing near. The enterprise workers' flotation fund speaks for 10 percent of that 20-percent holding, and these shares will only be sold when the sale of all the other shares has been completed. Our plant is not on the list of those enterprises where the state will retain a holding for three years. A new and more specific list is currently being drawn up. But we haven't received it yet, so this 20 percent is up in the air.

[Konchalovskiy] At this first stage neither flotation nor privatization is having the results envisaged in the normative documentation. It's becoming obvious that, for shareholders, privatization means nothing more than official liberation from state control. People's attitudes cannot be expected to change in the space of three or even six months. They'll start changing when shareholders come to realize that their children will retain ownership of the investments in various enterprises. The Murmansk Ship Repair Yard is thinking of the future as well as dealing with today's problems.

[Khashabov] We're building a block of various shops entirely out of our own resources. Admittedly, it's been very difficult. In the past we could rely on state aid and on someone paying our bills—that's gone by the board now, and we're having to do it ourselves.

[Konchalovskiy] The Murmansk seaport is unique. First, it's an ice-free port for northern sea routes and is used for supplying the Far North. Second, it's a deep-water port able to handle big ships. Third, Murmansk is the base for Russia's entire icebreaker fleet. With the loss of almost all the Baltic ports recently, Murmansk has become particularly important for trade with European countries. The process of privatizing the Murmansk Shipping Line is proving more difficult. It has already been floated, but, following a visit from a commission headed by Rutskoy, 49 percent of the shares are to be transferred to the state. Moscow has been talking about the need to control production, but that would only require a single golden share—why does it need 49 percent? Second, this approach to solving the problem scares off foreign investors, who are very interested in this region. The other problem making Murmansk Shipping Line check auctions a more distant prospect is that of the nuclear icebreaker fleet. [Video shows Nikolay Khvoshchinskiy, first deputy general director of the Murmansk Shipping Line]

[Khvoshchinskiy] Part of our fleet—specifically, the nuclear icebreakers, nuclear technological service ships, and conventional icebreakers—will not be privatized. And perhaps the most important and depressing point is that at the moment they are actually losing money.

[Konchalovskiy] The joint-stock company's future is directly tied in to its capacity to exploit the northern sea route.

[Khvoshchinskiy] First, it should have certain advantages for foreign shipowners and owners of cargo, and it should help to provide extra funds for our icebreaker fleet. It should also be more advantageous compared with using the Suez Canal—given the length of the voyage and the amount of money to be paid. This depends on a ship's tonnage, but, for example, our ships would pay around $100,000 for a one-way trip through the canal.

[Konchalovskiy] We can conclude from the case of the enterprises using the Murmansk sea port that privatization—for all its very difficult problems—will ultimately lead to the emergence of profitable enterprises and groups of people enjoying high incomes.

International Affairs

Chernomyrdin Visits; Expected To Sign Economic Agreements

LD2406100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kiev June 24 TASS—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, arrived in Kiev for a brief working visit on Thursday [24 June]. Russian and Ukrainian premiers are expected to sign an inter-state agreement on free trade.

Yuriy Shafranik, minister of fuel and energy of Russia, told ITAR-TASS that the sides had coordinated by the beginning of the talks draft bilateral agreements on cooperation in developing fuel and energy system within the frameworks of the Surgut agreement on the order of transportation of energy carriers through the territory of Ukraine and mutual payments, on supplies of Russian energy carriers to Ukraine.

Officers Dissatisfied With Black Sea Fleet Agreement

LD2406032293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] This report is from the Crimea. The press center of the Black Sea Fleet has circulated a report that notes the equivocal reception by a section of Sevastopol citizens and sailors to the accords between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents on the division of the fleet. In particular, it maintains that officers' assemblies took place at a number of formations and that the participants expressed dissatisfaction that the proposals of the Crimean Supreme Council and Sevastopol town council had not been considered in the agreement. At the assemblies, the press center reports, it was decided to convene a delegates' officers' assembly of Black Sea Fleet sailors to discuss the Moscow agreement and to ask the Ukrainian Supreme Council and Russian Supreme Soviet to thoroughly study the expediency of ratifying this document.

French Project for Chernobyl Sarcophagus Detailed

PM2406093193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 7

[Vladimir Bolshakov report: "New Sarcophagus for Chernobyl"]

[Text] Paris, 22 Jun—As has become known here, by the decision of the Ukrainian authorities the Campenon-Bernard-SGE [CB-SGE] firm has received a contract to dismantle the fourth reactor at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station], which exploded 26 April 1986, and the concrete sarcophagus that now covers it.

The contract itself is unique—no one in the entire history of nuclear power has yet been involved in dismantling a reactor put out of action as a result of such an accident. CB-SGE was one of the participants in an international competition, even beating the famous French construction firm Bouygues, whose project proposed burying the fourth reactor under a massive new sarcophagus.

The CB-SGE project envisages the construction of a working sarcophagus that will make it possible to cover the vast area on which the dismantling of the present sarcophagus—built in 1986, and which now has over 1,000 cracks in it—will be carried out. Then the fourth reactor will be demolished, after which all the debris and all the construction waste with a high level of radioactivity will be packed in containers.

It is proposed that a box made of concrete "blocks," hollow inside and shaped like children's plastic "Lego" pieces, will be constructed over the present sarcophagus. The blocks, six meters by six and weighing several hundred tons apiece, fit solidly together. Resin seals will ensure that the joins are impermeable. With the help of these blocks a square wall will be erected on a concrete foundation, onto which a gigantic roof of lead and concrete and an area of 20,000 meters [as published] will be slid, rather than placed, in the same way as the structure of a bridge is slid onto the abutments.

At a height of 90 meters, special passageways resembling airtight chambers [kessonnaya kamera] or hermetically sealing sluices will be built into the wall of the new sarcophagus via which radio-controlled vehicles [mashina] will gain access to the site. The presence of people inside the sarcophagus is ruled out.

Vehicles and robots will have to evacuate 350,000 square meters [as published] of debris from this "construction site of the century," after first grading it according to the level of radioactive contamination.

Debris with a half-life of 240,000 years will be entombed in a concrete storage pit measuring 20 meters by 20 alongside the Chernobyl AES. The plutonium used to fuel the fourth reactor will be placed in the type of containers that are usually used to transport nuclear materials for the AES. Concrete with a radioactive contamination of less than 0.01 curies per ton will be subjected to treatment and purification at a specially constructed storage facility.

Technically speaking, CB-SGE is prepared to solve the problem of dismantling the sarcophagus and the reactor, as well as the problem of removing the construction "waste." However, the problem of burying the bulk of the highly radioactive debris has yet to be resolved by the Ukrainian authorities. There is as yet no clarity regarding this subject.

Work at Chernobyl will start this year. It is calculated to take a very long time. And the preliminary estimate of its cost is approximately $300 million. And that is a very conservative estimate.

UK State Minister Explains Investors' Caution

LD2306190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov June 23 TASS—Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who arrived in Ukraine on an official visit in connection with the opening of the British Embassy in Kiev, visited Lvov.

At a news conference Hogg declared that the West was closely following political developments in Ukraine, paying attention to uncertainty and unpredictability of these developments. Therefore, British investors are not in a hurry to make investments, he said. Hogg noted that all economic, investment and other problems are centered around the global problem of nuclear weapons. He said that if Ukraine fails to ratify the START-I Treaty, this will be the worst variant for the development of the West and does not meet the interests of Ukraine.

In the framework of the visit Hogg met with local entrepreneurs and businessmen from state and private enterprises and attended the inauguration of a centre of the British Council in Lvov University.

On Wednesday night the British delegation is departing to Great Britain.

Estonia 'Partially' Rejects 'Neutral Belt' Proposal

WS2306095193 Tallinn BNS in English 1754 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Kiev, June 22, BNS—Estonia partially rejected the Ukraine's proposal for a neutral belt of countries stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

In a meeting today with Ukrainian officials, parliamentary foreign affairs head Vello Saatpalu, said Estonia could not support the idea of neutrality.

Saatpalu told Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk that Estonia had accepted the principle that an "umbrella" arrangement ensures a country's security. But, he said, it can provide protection only if the party who wishes to have the guarantee is itself one of the parts making up such an "umbrella".

Ukrainian leaders originally proposed the idea of a neutral belt more than a month ago in an effort to thwart a CIS military agreement. While the proposal initially received a warm reception, neither the Baltics nor the other countries have warmly embraced the idea.

The Ukrainian minister said he regretted the Baltics have been passive toward the proposal.

Saatpalu visited the Ukrainian capital for a seminar of the North Atlantic Assembly.

At Saatpalu's request, members of a number of parliamentary commissions met today to discuss the role of foreign commissions in shaping foreign policy. Participants in the meeting supported Saatpalu's initiative to call a seminar of the heads of parliamentary foreign affairs commissions from the Nordic countries, the Baltics, and Eastern and Central Europe this autumn.

Saatpalu also met the treasurer of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Peter Emery, to discuss Estonia's unpaid membership fee.

Slovenia's Peterle Visits, Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD2406023093 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1837 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Olena Kyrychenko]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Lojze Peterle, Slovenian vice president and foreign minister, arrived in Kiev on 23 June and met with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

The ministers paid special attention to prospects for developing bilateral relations, particularly in the economic area. Peterle and Zlenko discussed the preparation of several international agreements. They exchanged views on the situation in the former Yugoslavia and ways of resolving the conflict and discussed measures of strengthening the system of collective security in Central and Eastern Europe.

Nation Joins Customs Cooperation Convention

LD2206220393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Ukraine has joined the 1954 convention [date as heard] on setting up the International Customs Cooperation Council. To date, agreements have been signed with Belarus, Moldova, Poland, and Hungary on determining border checkpoints. The next document of this kind will be signed with Romania and the Russian Federation. The State Customs Committee press service has reported that in the five months of this year almost 240,000 freight customs declarations have been processed. A total of 145 billion in the national currency and 1.5 billion in foreign currency has been paid into the state budget between January and June. With more than 100 criminal cases started, over 2.5 billion in hard currency has been confiscated.

National Affairs

Government Agrees to Strikers' Economic Demands

PM2306134193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Video report by Gennadiy Kondaurov and Li Din Khwan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] The general political strike has been suspended by decision of the interoblast intersectoral coordination council. A strike alert remains however until all the demands have been met.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian mines are working again today. Around 270,000 tonnes of coal will be dispatched today. This is substantially less than normal, but it is sufficient to remove the threat of the destruction of coking batteries at by-product coke plants. A few dozen mines in Pavlograd, Pervomaysk, Lisichansk, Krasnodon, and a number of other cities in the Donbass are not yet working.

Following the decision to hold a referendum on a vote of confidence in President Kravchuk and the Supreme Soviet, Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, first deputy prime minister of Ukraine, managed to swiftly reach agreement with the strikers on their economic demands. Aware that every additional day of the strike may result in the total and irreversible stoppage of metallurgical industry equipment, the government commission headed by Zvyahilskyy agreed to an extensive list of the strikers' economic demands. In order to meet these demands, the government will have to rescind a substantial number of the ordinances issued during the six months of the special powers, lift the wage freeze and index-link wages to keep them in line with price hikes. This means that miners' wages may rise to 400,000 karbovanets. It will also be necessary to abolish licenses, quotas, and the various export and import duties, authorize miners' collectives to sell part of their coal themselves, review credit, financial, and taxation policy, strengthen social protection measures, and do many of the things which it has declined to do in recent months.

Lugansk Miners Continue Strike

LD2406105093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Thirty mines continued to strike today, 23 June, in Lugansk Oblast. According to the oblast state administration press service, mineworkers of the Krasnodon and Pervomaysk Coal associations are not working, as well as some of the mine collectives in the towns of Stakhanov and Lisichansk. The press secretary said that on the whole, only those mines where the Independent Union of Mineworkers has influence are on strike. This union supports the continuation of the strike.

Kharkov Industrial Workers Stage Warning Strike

LD2406072993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0629 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Kharkov June 24 TASS—Over 40 industrial enterprises of the Ukrainian city of Kharkov staged a warning strike on Thursday [24 June] demanding higher wages, social welfare benefits and protesting against the Ukrainian economic policy which they said is poorly thought out.

In the morning dozens of thousands of strikers marched to the major downtown square which is said to be the biggest in Europe and which local residents jokingly call the Dzerzhinsky Square of freedom, referring to the founder of the Soviet KGB.

However, none of the major enterprises of the city joined the strike and limited themselves to expressing support to the action.

The Kharkov branch of the "Civic Congress of Ukraine" party adopted an appeal to ukrainian leaders on the eve of the strike.

Anatoliy Volchenko, head of the branch told TASS that the party denounced nationalism as the state ideology of Ukraine. He added that nationalism is the major strategic miscalculation in the policy of official Kiev.

The party also called on the leadership to cease trying to solve all problems from Kiev and to considerably increase the powers of local self-government.

President Orders Negotiations With Trade Unions

LD2406083693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has instructed a Cabinet of Ministers commission to hold negotiations with authorized representatives of the trade unions federation. The commission is led by First Vice Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy. According to the president's order, it must prepare relevant draft resolutions within (?five) days.

Kravchuk Speaks at Draft Constitution Forum

LD2306150893 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 2359 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] [No dateline, as received]—The building of an independent Ukraine is impossible without the development of democracy and the formation of state legal institutions. The main issue today is the adoption of a new constitution of the Ukrainian state. This was discussed at the international symposium "The Draft Constitution of Ukraine" which began its work on 20 June in

Kiev. It was organized by the Ukrainian Lawyers Association [Ukrainska pravnycha fundatsiya] and the consultative-advisory council of the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk spoke at the symposium. The process of reforming our society, he said, is taking place in the unfavorable conditions of a crisis, which is generally characteristic of the transitional period. That is why we need stability of the state and the law that can be guaranteed by the new constitution. It is impossible to build a state without it. It is the new constitution that must become the fundamental document asserting the philosophy of nation building. It must provide the answers to the questions that are most acute today: What kind of state are we building and which path are we going to take?

The constitution lays down such guidelines, such "eternal truths" that must work for the future, for the benefit of an economically, politically, and spiritually free person, for the development of democracy, for the building, instead of the destruction, of the state power institutions. Here, one cannot escape from today's realities—the complex socioeconomic situation. Under these circumstances, a more advantageous constitutional model is that of a strong authoritative, but not authoritarian, power of the relevant power structures.

The latest edition of the draft constitution is based on the main foundations which agree with the interests of the individual, democracy, and the strengthening of statehood. Among those are the independent, democratic, law-governed, and socially-oriented nature of the Ukrainian state; the priority of universally acknowledged human rights and freedoms; the division of power into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; a mixed form of state administration; the unitarily decentralized territorial structure of Ukraine; and broad-based local self-government.

One must mention the fact that, during the work on the draft constitution, we received a good political and legal schooling, as we were mastering the problems of contemporary constitutionalism for the first time. In particular, we were giving up the stereotypes formed throughout decades in the shape of a narrow class approach to the constitution and laying down the natural, all-human values into the draft.

In this, Leonid Kravcuk noted, Ukrainian specialists were assisted by foreign experts as well. It is known that in 1991-1992 the new draft constitution of Ukraine was examined at international symposiums in Prague and in Kiev. It was recently analyzed at a meeting between members of the constitutional commission with the delegation of the European Commission for Democracy through Law, which was invited to the capital of Ukraine.

The approbation of the draft constitution in this chamber is taking place just before its examination in the Supreme Council of Ukraine. That is why your position and your judgement with regard to the principles of the draft are important for the parliament's thorough and fruitful work on it.

The program of the symposium allows the discussion of the draft comprehensively from the viewpoint of its general concept and specific issues devoted to human rights, the constitutional status of different branches of power, Ukraine's territorial organization and local self-government, and the procedure of adopting the constitution. The latter is a very topical issue today.

The president addressed the participants of the symposium with a request to voice and argue their positions and views proceeding from international practice. At the constitutional commission, he noted, we understand well that the edition of the draft which has been worked out is not ideal, is not an "ultimate truth." There are many problems yet, the solution to which must be worked on. In this respect we are also counting on your ideas, and on your expert conclusions.

Leonid Kravchuk suggested several issues for consideration, which can become the subject of future discussions.

First, it concerns the conceptual vision of the draft on the whole and its architectonics. During the work on the draft, the constitutional commission's working group proceeded from the need to deideologize the main political and legal institutions. Indeed, the nature of a state is likely to be determined not by some "isms" but by its orientation translated into a respective constitutional normative model that must serve the interests of the individual constitutionally protected from the arbitrary will of the very same state. This approach has many opponents. They believe, in particular, that the draft constitution does not define the socio-legal, ideological, and moral foundations of the life of the society. Is there a need to do this in the fundamental legal state document? In the president's opinion, there is no need to do this.

Another matter is whether some of the draft's theses are too detailed, whether there are redundant declarations that one could omit. What constitutes the subject of purely constitutional regulation in the present draft and what is the subject of the constitutional, basic, or ordinary laws? It is worth considering whether some important constitutional institutions may have failed to find their place in the draft. For example, the section on the constitutional court is laid out in great detail, but almost nothing is said about the institution of an electoral system and electoral law.

The second issue concerns the constitutional mechanism of exercising the rights and freedoms of the individual and the citizen. It is clearly impossible to define in the constitution the whole of the mechanism of implementation. However, are the elements of such a mechanism, contained in the draft sufficient, or, more importantly, feasible? On the whole, the president emphasized, the problem of human rights and freedoms is the summit of

democracy. It is the center of debates at the United Nations. An international forum on these issues is now being held in Vienna. That is, mankind is searching for ways to guarantee human rights and freedoms. This, Leonid Kravchuk reminded the audience, was also discussed during his meeting with Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the UN secretary general.

The third issue concerns the principle of the division of power. This democratic, in the president's view, principle, is far from being accepted by all. One can agree with the thesis of a single source of power, which is the people. However, it is worthwhile advising some of the orthodox to remove their blinders and realize that the embodiment of all power only in the councils will lead to nothing but its usurpation. Sadly, it is this mentality of a section of people—primarily all leaders of the former system—that in reality leads to provoking conflicts between representative structures and executive power bodies.

The situation with the mass media is very acute today and the issue of councils and democracy is raised at various meetings: Are councils democratic by their nature? In the president's view this issue cannot be discussed in isolation. Under a democratic constitution, democratic elections, and a certain basic level that exists in society, the councils cannot be totalitarian in themselves.

Another thing is whether the mechanisms of the division of power or the levers of restraint and counterweight have been consistently introduced in the draft? Incidentally, it was precisely this that was discussed at the meeting with a delegation of the aforementioned European Commission, that in the draft constitution five centers of power are observed at the republican level alone. A separate issue in this section is the adequacy of working out a system of judicial power. In the opinion of some members of the constitutional commission this issue requires further elaboration.

The fourth issue concerns the territorial system and the territorial organization of power in Ukraine. We held very acute discussions on these problems. In their section of the drafts there is mention of the unitary and decentralized model. There are possible questions here as well. Among them in particular is the expediency of implementing the principle of the division of power at the level of local power structures. This is a very important issue that should be clearly argued.

Finally there is a fifth issue, which concerns the quite complex problem of the procedure for adopting the new constitution. This problem is connected with defining the nature of and appointing the constituent power: Who is to implement it and what are its functions to be? That is, we must determine when we should adopt the constitution and by what method. The main thing is not to violate democratic or legal norms.

By way of conclusion, the president expressed the hope that the discussions that will be held during the three days will throw some light on some of the problems and the recommendations of the international symposium will help in the further work on Ukraine's draft new constitution.

Leonid Kravchuk answered questions from the symposium's participants.

Gregory Stenton, professor of constitutional law at the American University in Washington asked about the possible ways of adopting Ukraine's new constitution.

We must make sure that the constitution is adopted, that it is democratic, that it is in accordance with the highest world standards, and that it is based on our unique Ukrainian characteristics, noted Leonid Kravchuk. This is the first point. Second, it should be adopted without violating existing legislation. The present constitution says that it can only be implemented by today's Supreme Council.

This is why I spoke before the constitutional commission and why I am now stressing that we cannot avoid sending the constitution to the Supreme Council because this is envisaged by the present constitution. The Supreme Council should begin the constitutional hearings and should adopt the constitution.

Various points of view were expressed here on this subject. The question was asked: What if the present Supreme Council turns out to be unfit to adopt the constitution? We cannot stop, say that we will live without the new constitution, nor can we build the state according to the old constitution. It is impossible to build the state according to this constitution. Everyone knows this unless they have preconceived ideas about the situation.

My point of view, therefore, is based on the fact that we should have the constitution. The Supreme Council should immediately start discussing it and should define its stance. If it fails to do this, then we must find another way of adopting the constitution and we request your help in this.

Bohdan Futey, who is of Ukrainian origin, asked whether it would be expedient for Ukraine to adopt the constitution in this transitional period or whether the society must be formed first?

I am an adherent of the fact that we must have a constitution to build the state, said Ukraine's president. [passage indistinct]

Supreme Soviet Adopts Property Treaty With Russia

WS2306110493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2123 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Kiev, 22 June—At the morning session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, Ivan Plyushch announced that a meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers would take place the next day, and in the afternoon of the same day,

the Cabinet of Ministers would report on the possibility of resolving the situation caused by the Donbass strikes. He quoted Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma as saying that neither in Dnipropetrovsk nor anywhere else had he made any announcements about his resignation and that he would continue his work and will submit his program of action to the legislature on 23 June. [passage omitted]

The deputies passed the initial reading of the Law on the Ukrainian Antimonopoly Committee, which was read by secretary of the commission on economic reform issues and management of the economy and Oleksandr Zavada, head of the State Property Fund. A suggestion was made that this law should define the rules of fair market competition and that the Antimonopoly Committee should ensure the implementation of those rules.

People's deputy Mykhaylo Parasunko, deputy minister of food and agriculture, presented a report on changes and amendments to the Ukrainian Law on the Farm. In the afternoon, the deputies approved the law article by article, which virtually altered the original wording (changes were made in 29 out of 34 articles). The changes affect the right to start a farm and the procedures for obtaining land. In particular, all restrictions on the use of hired labor force were lifted, and recruiting of the prospective farmers was placed on a competitive basis. Rayon and city admission commissions are to be established in all of the local executive bodies. The maximum area of the land plots was set at 50 hectares for the cultivated land and 100 hectares for the total area of a farm, with the possibility of cultivated land share growing to 100 hectares. No decision was made on this law. The Ukrainian Fund in Support of Peasants' Farms estimated that the implementation of this bill would require some 350 billion karbovantsi.

Also ratified were two treaties. The first one was the treaty between Ukraine and Russia on mutual regulation of property relations signed by Kuchma and Chernomyrdin in Moscow on 15 January. This treaty specifies property of the enterprises that as of 1 December, 1990, belonged to the other party. According to the treaty, both parties are entitled to sell, exchange, or give free of charge their property to one another. The parties also have the right to establish enterprises the property of which would be entirely or partially shared. The privatization will be carried out under conditions specified by mutual agreements. The same treaty was signed with the Republic of Belarus.

Tomorrow's session will open with a debate on the privatization program for 1993.

President's Decree Supports Crimean 'Open Economy'

LD2406040293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1837 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] [No dateline, as received]—With the aim of more fully implementing the rights of the Crimean Republic in the economic sphere, which proceed from the Ukrainian Constitution and laws on setting up the necessary normative-legal base for the proper functioning of Crimean bodies of state executive power on issues of introducing an efficient mechanism of market relations and on speeding up the process of developing the Crimean transport- communications, cultural-historical, and recreational-tourist potential, the Ukrainian president, by means of his decree, resolves:

1. To support the Crimean Supreme Council decision to set up a system of open economy in Crimea, which would envisage liberalizing financial-banking, taxation-budgetary, foreign economic and customs relations with the aim of ensureing the necessary conditions for developing entrepreneurship, attracting and protecting foreign investment, and introducing a simplified procedure for the registration and activity of foreign firms and banks, and their branches and sections.

2. The Crimean Council of Ministers is to prepare, in accordance with the Ukrainian law "On Delimitation of Powers Between the Bodies of State Power of Ukraine and the Crimean Republic," and to submit for examination to the Crimean Supreme Council appropriate draft acts of legislation on the regulation of relations in the system of open economy on Crimean territory.

3. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers is to adopt, within the limits of its authority, appropriate decisions on issues related to the setting up of a system of open economy on Crimean territory.

The decree comes into force from the day of its signing—23 June.

Belarus

Trade, Economic Agreement With Moldova Signed

WS2206122493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] The trade and economic agreement between Belarus and Moldova will bolster traditional mutual relations. Mr. Dmitriy Muntyanu, Moldovan charge d'affaires to Belarus, and Mr Vladimir Radkevich, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, signed this agreement on behalf of their countries. According to both sides, the long-term agreement will renew old ties; establish new, mutually beneficial contacts between the two sovereign countries; and will introduce a profitable free trade policy.

Shushkevich Receives DPRK Legislative Delegation

WS2206122193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] On 21 June, Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich received the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by legislative chairman Yang Hyong-sop. Stanislav Shushkevich stated that there have always been good relations between the two countries and these traditional links should be promoted. The DPRK was among the first countries to recognize Belarus sovereignty. The leader of the Korean delegation introduced the Supreme Soviet chairman to the current political and economic situation in his country.

Supreme Soviet Declares National Status of Border

WS2306091193 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1506 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "Belarusian Border With Russia and Other Countries Has Acquired the Status of a State Border"]

[Text] On 11 June, the Supreme Soviet deputies adopted decrees on the national character of the border of the Republic of Belarus with Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia.

Yevgeniy Bocharov, chief of the Chief Department of Border Troops at the Council of Ministers, underlined that Belarus was the last to adopt this decision.

The borders with the Baltic states will be the first to be delimited and demarcated.

Official Laments West's Response to Disarmament Initiative

MK2306111693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Igor Sinyakevich report under "Belarus" rubric: "Free Disarmament Is a Bad Example. Belarus Has Not Received a Cent for Its Voluntary Abandonment of Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Valeriy Tsipkalo, adviser to the chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, recalled in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that Belarus had voluntarily, without any preliminary conditions, given up any claims over the nuclear bases of the former USSR located on its territory. In February the Belarus parliament ratified the START I Treaty and passed a decision to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state. Belarus ceded the nuclear facilities on its territory under Russia's jurisdiction and came out with the initiative to create a nuclear-free belt from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

According to Tsipkalo, however, Belarus' disarmament initiatives are not meeting with a correct understanding among the nuclear powers' leadership. "Belarus has not received a cent for its voluntary renunciation of nuclear weapons," Stanislav Shushkevich's adviser said. According to Tsipkalo, prospects of getting aid from the United States under the Nunn-Lugar act appear more than bleak. Delegations arriving in Minsk for talks on allocating funds for nuclear disarmament usually represent different departments. The representatives of newly arriving delegations state that they have no idea about the preceding rounds of Belarus-U.S. talks on this issue.

According to Tsipkalo, the Western countries' indifference to the problem of nuclear disarmament in Belarus is affecting the position of Ukraine. Thus, at a recent international conference, "European Integration and Military-Political Aspects of Collective Security," a representative of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry addressed Mechislov Grib, representative of the Belarus parliamentary commission on defense, with the question: "Has Belarus received any assistance following its abandonment of nuclear weapons?" Grib had to say no. According to Tsipkalo, this question is the quintessence of Ukraine's position.

Shushkevich's adviser expressed the opinion that the breakdown of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty would change the whole notion of collective security. Many countries would start associating their concept of national security with the presence of nuclear weapons. For instance, North Korea could acquire nuclear weapons, and its move would cause South Korea to respond in kind. Following the elimination of the nonproliferation treaty there would be more arguments in favor of Taiwan's nuclear projects. The Arab countries would also follow this path. Therefore a "domino effect"

would be provoked. According to Tsipkalo, this issue is all the more acute in view of the pending resumption of the treaty in 1995.

Shushkevich's adviser also touched on the problem of conventional armaments. In his opinion, following the reduction of armaments under the CFE Treaty, Belarus is spending 1.6 times more than the United States, France, and Britain put together. "Belarus is still observing all the obligations it has assumed, in spite of the tremendous spending on Chernobyl programs," Tsipkalo said. "But in view of the complicated socioeconomic situation, the government might be forced to redistribute budgetary resources from disarmament to social programs." "The impression is that Europe is not at all concerned about the security situation and the presence of nuclear weapons in the region," the Supreme Soviet chairman's adviser noted.

Economist Criticizes Government Policy Toward Russia

WS2406074993 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian 27 May 93 p 2

[Unattributed BELAPAN article under the "Mini Interview" rubric: "'What Will Become of Our Economy?' This Was the Only Question of the BELAPAN Correspondent to Doctor of Economics Petr Kapitulo"]

[Text] [Kapitulo] It is not an easy question. In my opinion, the Belarusian economy can fall into bankruptcy. Why? Our products, of which Russia is the main consumer, are not competitive on the world market. This is the result of Russia's discriminatory policy in fixing prices for raw materials and energy resources. We cannot ban this policy (Russia is an independent state)! When our leaders signed the documents in Belaya Vezha, they had to agree on economic ties for a minimum five- or six-year period. We could have had the time to alter our relations with the other republics. This had not happened, so Russia can have its way.

Having analyzed the activities of the Belarusian Government, I have come to the conclusion that the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers is unable to solve the current problems. Does Russia need us? Perhaps—for the relocation of its military bases, and for various military unions. I do not oppose military unions, but all the Belarusian Supreme Soviet discussions are just idle talk, because nobody can explain the need for such unions. I do not understand the need for an economic union, which is strongly supported by Vyacheslav Kebich. Who has done any research on how it will be structured? How will Belarus benefit from it? No answer.

To my mind, the government cannot end the deadlock. From the start, the government has been unable to implement any new economic reforms. They are just looking at Russia: If Russia finds the way out of the impasse, Belarus will follow it....

Moldova

Russian Troops To Withdraw When Dniester Conflict Ends

LD2306181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau June 23 TASS—The sixth round of Russo-Moldovan talks on status, terms and procedure for the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army, which is temporarily deployed in Moldova, ended here on Wednesday [23 June].

"The talks have passed in a constructive atmosphere," Vladimir Plechko, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Moldova, said.

"In keeping with the agreement reached by the Moldovan and Russian presidents in May, the date of the Russian troops' withdrawal will be synchronized with political settlement of the conflict and with conferment of a special status to the Dniester region of Moldova. The authorities of the left-hand bank region share this standpoint," he emphasized.

"The Russian party suggests that a number of smaller arrangements accompanying the main agreement be implemented earlier. The move would relieve the situation and make it possible to define the status of the 14th Army and let it (the 14th Army) live according to the rules coordinated with Moldova," the ambassador explained.

Snegur, Russian Envoy on Troop Withdrawal

AU2206195493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/6/1993—President Mircea Snegur received today an ambassador of Russia in Chisinau, Vladimir Plechko, who has delivered a message from Boris Yeltsin. The politicians exchanged their views about the next round of Moldovan- Russian talks concerning withdrawal of the 14th Army, due to begin in a few days' time. Considering the dialogue with the Dniestrian leaders, Mircea Snegur stressed that the Russian president serving as a mediator in the process of settling the conflict might have influenced the Tiraspolian separatists, inducing them to give up projects of Moldovan Confederation. The press service of the president communicated that Mircea Snegur regarded as "meddling into the internal affairs of another state" the speech of the members of the Supreme Council of Russia at the anniversary of the military conflict in Bender [Tighina]. The president stressed that such practice, broadly presented by Ostankino television company, doesn't promote removing the tension from the left bank of the Dniester River, on the contrary, it adds to the

conflict. The president informed that a package of economic agreements with Tiraspol is being accomplished now and the results of the negotiations will be promulgated.

Snegur Sends Message to Yeltsin on Dniester Issue

AU2306172193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2043 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 22/6/1993—The convention signed by the Presidents of Moldova and Russia on July the 21st 1992 contributed to the ending of the war which was broken by the guards led by Kostenko and created real premises for reinitiating the process of settling this conflict through political methods, indicates a letter addressed to the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, by President Mircea Snegur, cited by the Press Service of the Presidency. During the negotiations with the leaders of Tiraspol were proposed ways of settling the dispute which involves providing a special judicial statue elaborated according to the quoted convention, indicates the message. Unfortunately all the initiatives of Chisinau are blocked by a strong tendency from the other part to obtain a de facto and de jure recognition of the so-called Moldovan Dniester Republic. The supporting of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic by a group of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Russia led by Serghey Baburin, this way the anti- democratic forces of Russia takes advantage of the crises and aim to fulfill their own interest. "The pro imperial circles from Russia did not renounce their intention of using the situation from the Eastern regions of Moldova for discrediting democratic forces and yourself personally, as a leader of progressive reforms in the Russian Federation," stresses Mircea Snegur in the letter addressed to President Yeltsin. "The illegal visit of Russian members of Parliament in Moldova, their irresponsible declarations made the political situation in this zone more acute," indicates the message. President Snegur also mentioned that an official appreciation of all the above by Russia could contribute to a further constructive dialogue.

Calls Baburin's Actions in Tiraspol 'Outrageous'

MK2306124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[NEGA-signed report under the "Moldova" rubric]

[Text] The Moldovan president thinks that the actions by Russian Deputy Sergey Baburin and his followers in Tiraspol amount to "an interference in Moldova's internal affairs."

"The participation of the Russian Federation's official delegation in the events organized by the separatist authorities of Tiraspol to commemorate the tragic events of one year ago is a flagrant interference in Moldova's internal affairs," Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said in his meeting with Vladimir Plechko, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Moldova.

The president pointed out that the activities of Sergey Baburin and other members of the delegation in Tiraspol were outrageous. In his view, they add to the destabilization of the sociopolitical situation on the Dniester's left bank.

Snegur Says Military Doctrine To Be Presented 'Soon'

AU2306071293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 21/6/1993—One of the priority issues in the military politics of Moldova is creation of its own army. It is of vital importance to make an objective estimation of probability and reality of war threats, establish a sufficient minimum level of the state defense, stated today the President Mircea Snegur, supreme commander of Moldova, at the session of the Military Board of the Ministry of Defense of the republic, announced the joint communique the President's Press Service and the Press Center of Defense Ministry. Mircea Snegur stressed that the state war doctrine will soon be submitted for consideration in the supreme legislative organ of Moldova. Military powers serve not only as an attribute of statehood but also as a guarantor of independence, emphasized Snegur. Moldova is interested in the foundation of the European System of Collective Security, based on the political and military cooperation of countries with democratic orientation. The president underlined that Moldova supports the idea of such a European system under CSCE control taking as a basis the NATO structures.

Finance Minister Discusses Budget Deficit, Inflation

AU2306070893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 21/6/1993—The economy of Moldova is experiencing an acute financial crisis, which reanimates controversial talks concerning possible remedies. Claudia Melnic, the Minister of Finance from Moldova, declared that the deficit of the budget consists of 152,000 million rubles which is 8% of the internal gross production. She stated that this financial lack of poise grows into an unsolvable problem. A bankrupt tendency comes out: expenditure prevails over income. The budget income increases twice while expenditure rises by 2.8 times. This difficult situation reduces the credibility of the authorities from Chisinau. On the one hand the International Monetary Fund conditioned its loyalty by a limit of 6% of the deficit and on the other some branches of the economy are likely to use up budget allocations which makes impossible their future activity. The inflation achieved unexpected proportions. According to Leonid Talmaci, the Governor of the

National Bank, inflation during the first five months of this year approached the rate of 750%.

All the financial steps made now only prolongs the agony but does not stop it. Parliament decided to provide preferential credits of 77,000 million rubles to the Ministries of Agriculture and Food, Industry, Commerce and Natural Resources, Architecture. This fact is viewed differently. Sergiu Certan, the Minister of Economics, stated that this decision is dictated by the credit emission of the CIS countries. He also indicated that the realization of the investment programmes would become impossible without supplementary allocations. Though the governor of the National Bank is against this credit measure and stressed that the provision of preferential credits would stimulate inflation. The president of the Parliamentary Commission concerning financial and banking problems estimated that the supplementary assistance to the main branches of economy should be more accurately determined. The local investigators pointed out the lack of such projects stipulated in the programme of the government. The members of parliament did not discuss the efficiency of the previously provided preferential credits but they did form a commission which will deal with the way the quoted allocations are used.

Being alarmed by the actual situation, the government examined the project of the state budget for this year. The deputies made their option for reducing budget expenditure through cutting the state apparatus, allocations for budgetary institutions and organizations and for improving the remuneration system. They also agreed not to exempt economic agents from taxation. These unpopular proposals may not be supported by parliament thus the Cabinet of Ministers may risk their actual staff.

By the end of last week the mass media of the republic published the order of the president of Moldova involving some additional measures for performing economic reforms for the second half of this year. The experts of this sphere indicated that the previous elaborated programmes were implemented in proportions of 30-40%, pointed the local observes.

Kazakhstan

Tereshchenko Outlines Economic Problems, Measures

LD2306180893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] A conference has been held in Almaty on issues of the economic situation in the republic and its credit and monetary relations with countries of the commonwealth. A report was delivered by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko.

He said that the economic situation in the republic remains tense and unstable. Because of a worsening of final results of work, the slump in production of virtually all sectors of the national economy has intensified. There is a continuing drop in the amount of goods transported. The only thing that can be viewed positively is the fact that at the cost of great effort, in difficult weather conditions, farmers have successfully carried out their spring field work. As planned, grain crops occupy about 22 million hectares.

The growth of negative processes in the economy is being exacerbated by the disorganization of production, the disruption of economic ties, and a lowering of the feeling of responsibility and discipline of officials.

The financial activity of enterprises and organizations is basically aimed at price hikes. Even with a slump in output from January to April, there was a 7.6-fold increase in absolute amounts of profits. At the same time, almost every fourth enterprise is making a loss and is on the verge of bankruptcy.

The increase in losses attributed to costs has created problems in selling goods because of the cost of living and poor competitiveness. As a result, outstanding debts on bank loans exceed 600 billion rubles [R], while on reciprocal payments between enterprises and organizations within the republic alone they have reached R203 billion. [passage omitted]

Of decisive significance for Kazakhstan's economy are mutually advantageous commercial and economic relations with Russia, from where we get over two-thirds of our output in the chemical and forestry complex, almost 90 percent of our engineering output, and 60 percent of our consumer goods. [passage omitted]

Retail prices for basic types of foodstuffs (taking account of prices at the city market) for the first half of 1993 have increased by 3.5 times, including 1.7 times for bread products, 4.2 times for meat, 3.6 times for dairy products, 6.2 times for vegetables, and 2.6 times for potatoes. However, the revenues of the state budget are not increasing at such rates. In five months the level of revenue amounted to 82.5 percent of the planned volume. In May alone the amount of inaccessible money was R78 billion.

In such conditions it is becoming increasingly difficult for the government to ensure support for the population. The government therefore intends to further step up the targeting of social support for the population.

It is completely understandable that, being in the ruble zone, we cannot independently solve all problems in our anti-inflation policy. However, it is important for us to use in practical life the methods of administrative and economic influence on reducing inflation and reducing the budget deficit, taking into consideration at the same time the special features of Kazakhstan's economy. The prime minister openly admitted that carrying out a hard finance and credit policy would be an integral part of preparing for a probable introduction of the national currency.

Within the framework of anti-inflation measures, the government will toughen up its requirements on regions and enterprises and will considerably increase the responsibility of managers for the results of financial and economic activity. It will exclude the practice of budget subisidies and compensation for losses. Finally, it will apply the mechanism of bankruptcy and of restoration to a healthy state.

Sergey Tereshchenko devoted a large part of his speech to non- state commerce. Today the network is flooded with imported alcoholic drinks, tobacco, and luxury goods. However, excise and other indirect taxes on their sale are not entering the revenue of the budget. In the first five months of the year the actual taxation of import amounted to R227 million, only 1.7 percent of the planned volume of over R13 billion. The government intends to take a special decision to regulate this field. [passage omitted, including indistinct passage]

At present, the prime minister noted, [words indistinct] an improvement in currency and export control is of major importance. The government intends to bring in a very strict procedure and accounting here. A presidential decree has been prepared aimed at accumulating hard currency, raising the efficiency of the hard currency [words indistinct] the system of economizing in spending hard currency. There will have to be, if only temporarily, a moratorium on allocation of money from the republican hard currency fund.

The government intends to sharply reduce and virtually not to grant enterprises tax benefits, and to free them from customs duties [passage indistinct].

Money from the obligatory sale of hard currency by enterprises is intended to be completely concentrated in the National Bank's stabilization fund. Here the free sale of 10 percent of hard currency by enterprises to commercial banks will be [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Session Opens in Dushanbe

LD2406131193 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The 17th session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation was convened on 24 June in the city of Dushanbe. [passage indistinct]

Before the start of the session, Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, informed the deputies that members of the government, chairmen of the oblast, town and rayon executive committees, representatives of the republican mass media, and foreign journalists are being invited to the session. [passage indistinct]

The national anthem of Tajikistan was played, and the session was declared open. Participants of the meeting observed one minute of silence in memory of those people's deputies who have died, those national heroes who have lost their lives during the fratricidal war and in memory of Nabiyev, the first popularly elected president of the Republic of Tajikistan. [passage indistinct]

The 17th session of the Supreme Soviet is continuing at this moments. A full report will be presented to you on the work of the session at 2200 hours.

Opens Amid Heavy Security

LD2406053693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0509 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Dushanbe June 24 TASS—Armoured military hardware appeared on all central highways leading to the capital of Tajikistan and Tajik police together with Russian soldeers stationed in the republic are blocking everyone from entering the city without a passport or a business trip certificate.

The control was introduced on the eve of a parliamentary session "to ensure the safety of its participants and to avert possible provocations", according to the Tajik authorities. The republican security service said it possesses information that opposition militants had infiltrated into Dushanbe for "terrorsit and subversive aims".

Besides, rumours spread in the capital that Tajik armed opposition units are initiating a "large-scale terrorist action against supporters of the current regime and the Russian military".

The Tajik security and interior forces, as well as the 201st Russian Motorised Rifle Division are guarding major enterprises of Dushanbe and the parliament building where lawmakers are to discuss amendments to the Constitution, the budget for 1993, legal regime of a state of emergency, the strengthening of the armed forces and the anti-crime fight.

They will also consider a government programme which calls for the creation of an Asian bloc withing the commonwealth.

The plan worked out jointly by Tajik and US experts was published in the republican press on Thursday and proposed to create a regional economic bloc which would unite five former Soviet republics of Central Asia—Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

It also plans to attract as much foreign financial aid as possible.

Olimov Meets With UK's Hogg at Human Rights Conference

LD2206124693 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0300 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Tajikistan Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov and Douglas Hogg, minister of state for foreign affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, have met within the framework of the world conference on human rights.

During an extensive conversation Rashid Olimov talked about measures being taken by the constitutional Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the country, improvements in the national economy, and the restoration of the destruction caused by the fratricidal war and natural disasters. It was stressed that what has been achieved is the result of joint efforts by the people of the Republic, its leadership, international organizations, members of the CIS, and the world public.

On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Tajikistan, Rashid Olimov expressed gratitude for the attention being given to Tajikistan by the Government of Great Britain. There was an exchange of views on the progress of the world conference, in particular on the observance of human rights in Central Asia and in the Republic of Tajikistan.

Armenia

Visiting Karabakh Leader Meets With Ter-Petrosyan

LD2406044193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0047 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jun—The two-day official visit by Karen Baburyan, acting chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet, which ended today, included a a number of important meetings with the Armenian leadership.

As Gegam Bagdasaryan, Karabakh parliament press secretary, reported to the ITAR-TASS correspondent today, during his 90-minute meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on 23 June, Baburyan discussed bilateral relations and regional problems. The visit's agenda included talks with parliamentary leaders and government and Armenian Foreign Ministry officials.

At a news conference in Yerevan on Wednesday evening, Baburyan noted the warm atmosphere at these meetings. According to him, "hardly a single request of the Karabakh leadership was ignored in Yerevan," and the Armenian leaders "had met him halfway on all issues." "Stepanakert's signature under the CSCE initiative has made it possible to accept the positions of Armenia and Nagorno- Karabakh," Baburyan summed up. In his opinion, the process of Armenia's recognition of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has already started, as the current meetings in Yerevan attest."

Rules Out Remaining Within Azerbaijan

LD2406044793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0420 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 24 TASS—Nagorno-Karabakh has adopted the CSCE peace plan but rules out any possbility of remaining within Azerbaijan and fears that the latest Azeri developments can delay the implemetation of the peace initiative.

"Internal instability in Azerbaijan can impede the CSCE peaceful process on the Karabakh settlement and unless stabilisation in the republic is secured no date of implementing the CSCE schedule can be announced", recently appointed Parliament Chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Karen Baburyan, who paid an official visit to Armenia, told reporters late on Wednesday.

He added that the enclave is interested in stabilisation in Azerbaijan. "We do not know with who to conduct a dialogue, but we want peace and stable leadership in Azerbaijan", Baburyan said adding that only that president can remain for long in power in Baku who will recognise Nagorno-Karabakh and support the peaceful process.

"Otherwise there will be a permanent reshuffling like in a card game", he stressed.

The parliament chairman ruled out any chance of remaining within Azerbaijan saying that the people of Karabakh had expressed their will at a referendum and nobody can oppose it.

The enclave's support to the CSCE plan was "the only acceptable step in the given situation", Baburyan said.

The approval of the plan was not an easy task and various political consultations were necessary for Karabakh to join the peace initiative, he added.

Baburyan warned however that if Stepanakert is offered proposals contradicting the sovereignty of Karabakh, threatening the life and security of its people the leadership will turn the plan down.

For the time being "the only guarantor /of security of the enclave/ is the army of Karabakh. Unless there are other guarantees it should be strong and mobile", he added.

During his two-day official visit Baburyan had a meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Spokesman of the Karabakh parliament Gegam Bagdasaryan told TASS that the two leaders discussed bilateral relations and the Karabakh settlement. Baburyan told reporters that his meetings in Yerevan were held in "a warm atmosphere".

He added that Yerevan did not leave without attention practically any of the requests of the leadership of the enclave.

The visit to Yerevan showed that "the process of recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh by Armenia has already begun", according to Baburyan.

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Demands Elchibey's Return or Resignation

LD2406083393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to the latest news from Azerbaijan, the National Assembly has given President Elchibey a choice: to return to Baku or to announce his resignation by 1500 today. This was reported by RIA.

Postpones Session

LD2406095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0856 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—Today's extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan National Assembly, which stopped work late last night, has been postponed until 1500. This is due to the fact that deputies did not manage to reach a consensus during debate on a proposal submitted by

opposition leader Etibar Mamedov to transfer presidential powers to the parliamentary leader because of Abulfaz Elchibey's inability to govern the country.

The legal specialists who were given the draft so they could pass an expert opinion on it were divided; some felt the document contradicted the republic's Constitution and could not be passed, while others asserted the contrary. At the point where the latter point of view had prevailed and the National Assembly was ready to vote at about 0200, Geydar Aliyev suggested postponing the session, thus giving the head of state some time in which to make a final decision.

It is expected that Abulfaz Elchibey's written reply to the National Assembly's request that he should return to Baku will be made public today. Confidential sources report that this morning he was still at his temporary residence in the mountain village of Keleki in the Ordubad Rayon of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

There are no changes in the situation in Baku; it remains unclear and tense. Streets in the city are being patrolled by groups from the military and police. It has become known that during the night the head of executive power has been dismissed in Sumgait, a major industrial town approximately 40 km from the republic's capital. All attempts by ITAR-TASS correspondents to get in touch with the Sumgait executive authorities have been unsuccessful.

Today the Baku newspaper ZERKALO reported that a discussion on the future structure of the government of the so-called Talysh Mugan Republic has started in Lenkoranskiy Rayon, in southern Azerbaijan, where executive power was seized by a group of people with Alikram Gumbatov as its head. At the same time, it is reported that the Lenkoran branch of the People's Front has been dissolved by a decision of the session of the rayon's people's deputies.

Mamedov Proposes Giving Aliyev 'All Presidential Powers'

LD2406050393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the influential opposition National Independence Party, has proposed handing over to Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Gaydar Aliyev all presidential powers. The mejlis have not yet adopted a decision on this issue. [passage omitted]

Elchibey Said To Agree to Referendum on Confidence Vote

NC2306200693 Baku AZERTAC in English 1941 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (AZERTAC)—President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey agrees to call referendum for a vote of confidence to the head of the state. Minister for Foreign Affairs Tofik Gasimov informed the National Assembly about it at the session resumed its work after break. Today Mr. Gasimov returned from Nakhichevan where he had met Mr. President in the Keleki village of the Ordubad area. On the eve Mr. Gasimov visited Gyandzha and had a conversation with Suret Guseynov.

According to the foreign minister, any decision of the National Assembly on the president's resignation will be unlawful. He underlined that such decision might be reached only as a result of a referendum.

Guseynov Message: Talks With Elchibey 'Out of Question'

NC2306190993 Baku AZERTAC in English 1801 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (AZERTAC)—Negotiations with the president is out of question now. I refuse to meet with him and remain of my demands—Abulfaz Elchibey must send in his resignation and the extraordinary session of the Supreme Council of the republic must be convoked to overcome the crisis, Surat Guseynov's telephoned telegram just have been read out at the evening extraordinary session of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan.

Such answer of Surat Guseynov is occasioned by his disagreement with efforts of some parliaments members to speak on behalf of him and what is the main with the published decree on designation of Minister of Agriculture Tofik Guseynov, the member of the PFA [Azerbaijani People's Front], for the post of presidents plenipotentiary on the western part of the republic which is almost controlled by armed opposition. At the beginning of the events took place in Gyandzha T. Guseynov was among officials who had been seized as hostages by Surat Guseynov's supporters and he was the only one who could escape to Baku.

The debate on the situation in Azerbaijan is going on at the session of the National Assembly. The proposals to distrust the president, to call referendum for this aim and also to convoke the extraordinary session have been advanced at the session of the National Assembly.

The president is still in the Keleki village of the Ordubad area of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. A group of Azerbaijan's intelligentsia visited Mr. president there said that his temporarily residence in the village of Keleki is equipped with satellite communication system.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1830 GMT on 23 June adds: ["'From now on there can be no talk of any kind of negotiations with the president. I refuse to meet him and insist on my demands: Abulfaz Elchibey must resign and an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet must be convened in order to resolve the crisis.' This telephone message from Surat Guseynov was read at an extraordinary sitting of Azerbaijan's National Assembly which opened this evening.

["It was previously reported that while President Elchibey said that he would return to Baku on condition Guseynov's units are withdrawn from the capital, he did not rule out the possibility of a personal meeting with the 'rebel colonel.' Surat Guseynov's answer was caused, in his own words, by his disagreement with attempts 'by a number of deputies to speak on his behalf' and, more important still, with the president's decree, read at the session, appointing Tofig Guseynov, the minister of agriculture and member of Azerbaijan's Popular Front, as head of the state's plenipotentiary in the western region of the republic, which is almost entirely under the control of the armed opposition.

["Debates around the situation in Azerbaijan are continuing at the National Assembly session. Various proposals are being put forward, including one on declaring no-confidence in the president, holding a referendum with this purpose, and on convening an extraordinary session of the parliament.

["As for the president himself, he is still in the mountain village of Keleki in Nakhichevan. However, he cannot be regarded as cut off from all developments. Representatives of scientific and artistic intelligentsia who have visited him there report that the temporary residence of the head of state is equipped with satellite communications."]

Aliyev Meets U.S., Turkish Envoys for 2d Time in 5 Days

NC2306144593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1304 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 23 June (ASSA-IRADA)—Today Parliament Speaker Geydar Aliyev received Turkish Ambassador Altan Karamanoglu and the U.S. Ambassador Richard Monroe Miles for the second time for last 5 days.

Geydar Aliyev stated at the meeting held some hours ago with intelligentsia delegation of Azerbaijan who visited President Elchibey in Nakhichevan that situation is controlled in the republic. But any moment it can lose its control. Sure that meetings with diplomatic representatives of the mentioned countries are caused by situation in the republic. However excepting increased guard of state agencies the situation is calm outwardly in Baku.

Aliyev's 23 Jun National Assembly Speech

NC2406113993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1329 GMT 23 Jun 93

["Text" of opening speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev during the National Assembly debate on the situation in Baku on 23 June—live]

[Text] Good afternoon, esteemed deputies, guests, and members of the press. The sessions of the National Assembly are held irregularly. That is normal. Every member of this parliament agrees to that. The debate on the matters that have been placed on the agenda has been postponed. We are only debating the situation in Azerbaijan at the present time. We have decided to convene today's session for that purpose as well, because the situation in the Republic is complex and tense. The talks and consultations that have been held and the measures that have been taken have not yielded the desired result. In view of that, we have to exchange views with the members of the National Assembly to find a way out of this situation. I wish to recall a point I mentioned earlier. We can emerge from this serious situation by holding talks on alternatives.

Regarding present conditions, I wish to say that the situation is tense. We conferred by telephone with President Elchibey. The National Assembly adopted a decision on 21 June to urge him to return to Baku. The decision was conveyed to Elchibey on 22 June. He was informed of the decision by telephone earlier. Meanwhile, he should have been able to follow the situation on television. We urged him in our telephone conversations to respond to that decision.

Since the talks that have been held with Abulfaz Elchibey have failed to yield results, we gathered here to take steps yesterday. A group of Azerbaijan's prominent individuals, scholars, and social and cultural officials came here. We held talks with them. We urged them to call on Abulfaz Elchibey. Many of them have been working in the Academy of Sciences and other educational centers. They have been in touch with President Abulfaz Elchibey for a long time. In fact, some of them have worked with Elchibey. In view of that, we believed that their visit would be a useful step. We dispatched them [words indistinct]. They held talks with President Elchibey and returned last night. We met with them in the National Assembly today. They briefed us on their talks with Elchibey. We have invited them to attend the National Assembly session so that they may help us to resolve the problem.

We called Surat Guseynov last night. I tried to contact him during the day, but that was impossible. We held talks last night. He insisted on his demands and said that he believes that he is right. He also believes that the National Assembly has not adopted a resolute and serious approach to settle the problem.

I met with the members of the deputies' investigation committee yesterday. We exchanged views. Regrettably, the committee's work is very slow. It was established on 10 June. What obstructed the work of the committee members was that they did not have an office to work in. There were not enough computers or typewriters in the building that houses the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. In addition, they needed transportation. They had other demands as well, such as guaranteeing their security. Of course, these were important matters, which have been resolved. We instructed Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, to solve their problems, and he later informed me that he had.

However, judging by the views they expressed, I have concluded that they are prolonging the matter. They maintain that the National Assembly has given them until the end of the month. Regardless of the time they have been given, they have not done productive work thus far. That is what I concluded from the meeting we had yesterday and I wished to express my opinion.

Surat Guseynov informed me during our telephone conversation last night that the military procurator has initiated an investigation in Gyandzha. Two of Azerbaijan's military procurators are taking part in that investigation. Guseynov said that he would dispatch the material related to the investigation to the deputies' investigation committee and to the Azerbaijan military procuracy. In fact he said that he already has. They should receive the material today. I do not know if they have. I have not asked to be informed on the matter. However, I have only conveyed the information I received. That is the information I have. I am convinced that the work we are doing has occupied all our time. We do not have even a moment to spare. I have not been able to concern myself with any other problem since I was elected chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. I have only been able to tackle the problems related to the incidents in Gyandzha and the situation on the front lines in Karabakh.

I am informed on developments in this or that rayon from time to time. I respond by saying that I am unaware of the situation and I cannot intervene, not because I do not wish to do so but because I do not have time.

Furthermore, the present situation may create a very serious state of lawlessness. In fact, Surat Guseynov said yesterday the present situation may create a wave of anarchy. You will remember that we have used that word in the past. And, I have used the exact word Surat Guseynov mentioned. A serious wave of lawlessness has been created. Certain forces have used this state of affairs in various ways. I have already given a certain amount of information on that matter in my briefing. I wish to say that there are certain groups which use the serious situation in Baku to realize their subversive activities. However, we are dealing with that matter very seriously. Our organizations are seriously concerned with that matter. Thank God that the measures that have been taken have obstructed these activities.

However, you are aware that this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. Everyone, including the members of the National Assembly, must realize that. We must consider our responsibilities once again. President Elchibey and our citizens must realize that. They must also realize that additional problems must not be created.

We are holding talks at the present time. We shall adopt a decision if we are able to agree.

Meanwhile, that is all that I have to say.

Aliyev Holds 22 Jun News Conference

LD2306123093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1632 GMT 22 Jun 93

[News conference by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev with unidentified correspondents in Baku on 22 June—recorded]

[Text] [Aliyev] There is no need to explain the reason [for holding a news conference]. In connection with the situation that has recently developed in Azerbaijan, we are making efforts so that precise information and full freedom is given to the media and so the process that is going on is clear. For this reason, it is obvious that until our situation comes into a certain framework, there will be a need for holding such meetings. Therefore, I invited you to this briefing today.

The situation remains tense. Questions in connection with the Gyandzha incidents and their results have not been resolved yet. Azerbaijani People's Deputy Colonel Surat Guseynov is standing by his own requests. As you know, yesterday, in the town of Gyandzha, he held a news conference, gave a statement, and in his statement he once again requested the resignation of Abulfaz Elchibey.

A section of the troops attached to Surat Guseynov are now around Baku in one or two areas. However, they have stopped there. They are controlling the rayons that they were controlling before and there is not much change in this field.

We are always busy analyzing the situation. As you know, the National Assembly held a session yesterday. The situation that has developed was discussed at the session. The main topic of finding a way out of the situation was the question of the return to Baku of President Abulfaz Elchibey. The session yesterday reached the people through a direct broadcast; you know that. Our assembly adopted a decision that an appeal should be made to Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey to return to Baku, be at his work place, and fulfill his duties. At the same time, the National Assembly adopted an appeal to Azerbaijani People's Deputy Surat Guseynov. You know about that appeal too.

These days I have telephone contacts with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey. Yesterday, in the latter part of the day, I talked to him twice on the phone. I told him about the situation here—the situation in Azerbaijan. I conveyed to him the National Assembly's decision. I asked him to return immediately to Baku, fulfill his duty, and take joint measures to come out of the tense situation. However, these telephone talks of mine have not yielded a positive result. In other words, Abulfaz Elchibey still refrains from returning here. What he mainly says is that he does not want to return to Baku before peace and order have been secured around Baku. He believes that if he returns to Baku there could be bloodshed, and there will not be any bloodshed if he is

not in Baku. He requested that I, together with leading people here, try to stabilize the situation, and he will come to Baku after the situation is stabilized.

These calls have not yielded any results. There is the argument that the Azerbaijani president must fulfill his powers, he must lead all military units as chief of staff, and he should bear responsibility for incidents that take place in all parts of Azerbaijan. It is true that some reports come via the press that when Abulfaz Elchibey is in the village of Kalaki he is allegedly leading the republic. However, this does not conform to reality because at present he does not have the possibility of leading the republic with a few phone calls; communication lines are too poor. Undoubtedly it is not possible for him to lead the republic.

I have told Abulfaz Elchibey all about this. However, unfortunately, none of them have had any effect on him and he remains in Keleki.

Last night we got together with a few leaders of the Cabinet of Ministers, including National Assembly member Etibar Mamadov, National Assembly member Rakhim Gaziyev, and other people. We discussed the issue, and I talked to Abulfaz Elchibey in their presence. This did not yield any results either. Later that night, Etibar Mamedov also talked to Elchibey, as did Rakhim Gaziyev. This morning, members of the Cabinet of Ministers—the prime minister and his deputies—all talked to Abulfaz Elchibey. All of these talks focused only on convincing Abulfaz Elchibey to return to Baku and to fulfill his duty and on the fact that the National Assembly had adopted a decision and this decision should be fulfilled. However, none of this has yielded any results.

I had to take another step today. I invited a few of our scholars, officials of science and culture. We had a talk with them and I appealed to them. As influential people who have worked extensively with Abulfaz Elchibey, they should contact Abulfaz Elchibey and explain the situation to him. Perhaps they could achieve something. They accepted our proposal, and a group of scientific and cultural figures will fly to Nakhichevan in half an hour to talk to Abulfaz Elchibey and explain the situation to him. Perhaps this measure will yield results.

In the meantime, something else that makes us anxious is the fact that a section of the military units of Surat Guseynov are around Baku. Undoubtedly Surat Guseynov does not have full control of all these units. Undoubtedly there might be undisciplined people who might be involved in some illegal actions and some disorders might take place. This worries us very much.

Now we, I—taking advantage of this live broadcast—appeal to all to be calm, and to allow any clashes or conflicts that come about to be solved through peaceful talks. According to reports that we have received, there are people who intend to be involved in some destruction. As you know, there are many armed groups here. Unfortunately, their weapons have not been collected yet; on the contrary, during the past 10-15 days, after the incidents that took place on 4 June in Gyandzha, with the instructions of the Azerbaijani president, both the leaderships of the Defense Ministry and the Internal Affairs Ministry report that a number of weapons were distributed to unknown people. For this reason there are armed people in the city, there are armed groups. Some armed groups, taking advantage of this situation, intend to cause destruction in the city and perhaps be involved in certain actions and accuse Surat Guseynov's units of these actions in order to create chaos.

We have given the necessary instructions to certain bodies, and they are implementing their activities, but at the same time I would like to inform all these disruptive groups, all these criminal people, and all these ill- intentioned people: None of them will be allowed to carry out their actions. Perhaps, undoubtedly, destruction might take place; perhaps an error might take place somewhere, but we will take necessary measures within the framework of the law against all such saboteurs. In the meantime, I appeal to all people and I ask all people that preserving stability in Baku is a civil obligation, a patriotic obligation, and everybody must fulfill his own obligation in this respect. I would also like to warn all those people who intend to be involved in destruction to give up their ill-intentioned attitudes. In the meantime, I appeal to all citizens, residents of Baku, to all residents of Azerbaijan, citizens of Azerbaijan to secure stability in these grave days and to secure calm and not to allow any illegal actions. The situation is tense; it remains tense. Negotiations are being made with Surat Guseynov. I believe understanding will prevail among all of us. Understanding will prevail with our people and we will come out of this situation.

Another question that worries us is the fact that Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey cannot fulfill his duty as president by being outside Baku and living in a remote village. This undoubtedly hampers state bodies from taking necessary measures in this grave situation. Furthermore, I appeal to Abulfaz Elchibey to quickly return to Baku and work with the government structure around him and seek ways out of this situation.

This is all I want to say; if anyone has any questions, please ask. However, I request that the questions be concrete, short, and not take too much time.

[Unidentified moderator] Ilgar Rustamov from KHALG GAZETI, [word indistinct] the union of social and political television programs.

[Rustamov] Esteemed sir, I have a question. How can one explain the active position of foreign countries—especially the United States and Turkey—in recent events that took place inside Azerbaijan as something different from the Armenian incursion that has been going on for five years? You had a meeting with U.S. Ambassador Miles last night. Was any approach to these questions mentioned? Thank you.

[Aliyev] Yes, I had a meeting with U.S. Ambassador Richard Miles. The U.S. ambassador conveyed the view of his government to the effect that they cannot accept the overthrow of the state in Azerbaijan; at this complicated period, all actions in Azerbaijan must be within the framework of the law, within the framework of the Constitution, within the framework of the norms of international law. I told him that I, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, have many times said and once again I point out that I would not allow any activity outside this framework—in other words, outside these principles. They [not further identified] informed me yesterday that U.S. Secretary of State Christopher had sent a letter to Abulfaz Elchibey that the United States of America supports Abulfaz Elchibey as president. I said we too have accepted him as president and we respect Abulfaz Elchibey as president. However, Abulfaz Elchibey must also respect the people of Azerbaijan, the people who elected him. He must be in one place with his people.

Regarding the Turkish side, I have talked to the Turkish ambassador, I have talked to Turkish leaders on the phone. They too are of the opinion that the process taking place in Azerbaijan should be based on the state structure, the Constitution, human rights, norms of international law, and democratic principles. I promised him that this would be so and that Abulfaz Elchibey must also comply with these norms.

[Moderator] Saleh Salahzada, the union of social and political television programs.

[Salahzada] The tension that has come about recently in Azerbaijan has caused Armenian Armed Forces to become more active. We learn from the press that Armenian Armed Forces have begun attacks on Fizuli and Agdam. Who is fighting against these troops, against Armenian Armed Forces? I mean some of our Armed Forces are here; we have seen them located in Baku. How is the situation at present around Agdam, around Fizuli?

[Aliyev] Differing from the previous days, today the situation around Agdam in the Karabakh region is to a certain degree calm. Basically our national army—and undoubtedly local volunteers—are fighting in those districts. No large units are being kept in Baku. Most of the units here have been sent to the front, and there is no doubt—you said in your question, Armenian Armed Forces, armed forces of Karabakh, Nagorno-Karabakh armed forces—want to take advantage of this disruption of political stability to achieve their aims. Now people who disrupt this political stability must understand this and know their responsibilities.

[Moderator] The CBS television company, (Terry Phillip).

[(Phillip), in Russian] Mr. Aliyev, we hear that Mr. Guseynov is in Baku. Is there an agreement between you and him?

[Aliyev, in Russian] Do you mean [words indistinct]?

[(Phillip), in Russian] Yes.

[Aliyev, in Russian] He is not in Baku; he is in Gyandzha. As far as the agreement is concerned, I hold telephone conversations with him.

[Moderator] AZADLYG GAZETI, Elchin Abdullaoglu.

[Abdullaoglu] I have two questions. Here is my first question. At the beginning of this news conference, while giving some information about yesterday's news conference by Surat Guseynov, you mentioned that Surat Guseynov demands the resignation of the president [words indistinct], but you did not say that Surat Guseynov mentioned that he was to undertake [words indistinct]. (?Later you pointed out) that you did not have the power to stop him. What is your opinion on this subject? I will ask my second question later.

[Aliyev] Yes, I do not want to reveal all issues mentioned at Surat Guseynov's news conference. You know this. A news conference was held and a statement was made; you know about this. Surat Guseynov has made such a statement. Undoubtedly we will take necessary measures in connection with such a statement.

[Abdullaoglu] You said in your talk that even if there was an assassination plot against the president, there was a sufficient number of protectors, consisting of guards and the Presidential Guard, and pointed out that you were aware such plots were planned against yourself. My journalist colleague also mentioned at the past conference that such an assassination plot was planned and he was aware of that. He even mentioned that decisive measures would be implemented to stop this terror. What interests me is this question: Has a sufficient number of guards and measures been taken to avoid the assassination plan against you? Finally, the fact that even journalists are aware of the full composition and details of the assassination plot against you shows that this is sensational news widespread.

[Aliyev] You know that news about the assassination plot against Abulfaz Elchibey does not have a sensational nature. [sentence as heard] I ask you. When I talked to him, Abulfaz Elchibey said: They came and told me that an assassination plot would be carried out against me. I asked him: How precise is this information? He could not answer this. You want to say that one allegedly had a basis if this is news of a sensational nature. It does not bear any sensational nature. A few times assassination plans were worked out against me, especially when I was in Nakhichevan. And now the information consists of this. However, if I knew whose provocation this was, undoubtedly I could stop it with the facilities that I have. Nevertheless, I am not afraid of this assassination plot.

[Moderator] Kakhaber Gagloshvili of the IBERIA news agency. And GAZETI (newspaper) be ready.

[Gagloshvili] Mr. Aliyev, as is known you held a telephone conversation with Eduard Shevardnadze. If you please, specifically the subject of your conversation.

[Aliyev] It is hardly necessary to disclose the subject of this conversation. I and Eduard Shevardnadze have known each other for a long time, we used to work together. Naturally he welcomes my election to the post of Supreme Soviet chairman. He has sent an official greeting and a delegation sent by him has arrived. I think that greeting has been made public by the information media. The conversation concerned the need for reinforcing friendly links between Georgia and Azerbaijan.

[Gagloshvili] The second question [word indistinct]. You support [word indistinct] the position so that Azerbaijan will not join the CIS in future either.

[Aliyev] I have already stated that I am for complete independence for Azerbaijan.

[Moderator] And Orhan Mansurzada of GAZETI . Getting ready MILLI BIRLIK GAZETI.

[Mansurzad] I have (?two) questions: the probability of former president Ayaz Mutallibov returning to politics, and the known Ganja incidents [words indistinct]. The first question.

[Aliyev] There are many rumors about this subject. As you know the situation is such that the city and generally the republic are full of rumors. It is very difficult to determine which rumor is fact or does not conform to facts. However, there are many rumors. I think that Ayaz Mutallibov too, as a citizen and as a former president of Azerbaijan, must be aware that he must act with dignity and should not allow a further deterioration of the situation in Azerbaijan.

[Mansurzad] [Question indistinct].

[Aliyev] I think there is no need to answer this question. Abulfaz Elchibey is still the president. If he leaves the post of president, Azerbaijan has a parliament, has a national assembly. It will determine which way to go.

[Moderator] Tofig Heydaroglu of MILLI BIRLIK GAZETI. Getting ready the ITN television company.

[Heydaroglu] Mr. Aliyev, ideological sabotage is constantly being carried out againt the people through the radio and television. The opposition forces who [word indistinct] right and justice, are giving up television. How long will this go on, and what is your approach toward it? This is the first question. The second question: Mr. Aliyev, everybody knows you as a brave and resolute state official. For this reason you are being supported. People expect decisive steps from you. In this grave day for Azerbaijan, why are you not appealing to the people and what are you not taking decisive steps?

[Aliyev] I do not want to be involved in the activity of television. However, today when I started this briefing I said that recently freedom has been given to all means of information. There is no limitation. The briefing is being broadcast live. The national assembly is broadcast live. We do not conceal anything from anybody. We invite all of you to openness and political pluralism. This is my opinion and I invite the television of Azerbaijan to adopt this position. As far as the appeal to people is concerned, I have been appealing to people for a few days. Are not these appeals? I appeal to people everyday.

[Moderator] Ian Williams of the ITN television company. Getting ready is PRESFAKS newspaper. There are two questions here: one from Ian Williams and the other question from a different channel of the ITN TV company. Therefore they will be combined into one question. Mr. Speaker, supporters of the president and the front claim that it is Russia, which wanted to prevent the signing of the contract between Azerbaijan and British Petroleum that is behind the events leading to the current crisis and to the advance of Guseynov. To what degree does this correspond to reality? This is one part of the question. The second part: It is known that the contract was to be signed by President Elchibey during his trip to London. Will that contract now be signed, and have you given any guarantees to the British ambassador that the contract will be signed? Thank you. [Aliyev] First, I have no information and facts that Russia is behind all this. I stated this at the last briefing. As for the contract between Azerbaijan and the United Kingdom, it is a matter for the president. However, today I told the UK ambassador in Moscow that economic links between Azerbaijan and the United Kingdom will continue and develop. As to who will sign that contract then? I think there will be someone to sign it. It will not hinder the matter. [Break in transmission]

[Unidentified voice]....Serious disasters may come about, (?unexpected) disasters. In your opinion, what would constitute the last means of restoring citizens' peace? I would be grateful.

[Aliyev] Definitely the situation as it now is cannot go on for long. For this reason, the president of Azerbaijan must return to his place of work, and together with the state bodies of Azerbaijan, he must seek a way out of this situation urgently and take the necessary measures.

[Moderator] Nariman Gahramanly of Radio Azerbaijan. Getting ready the Information Centee of the International Human Rights Society.

[Gahramanly] Esteemed comrade, the Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly have adopted appeals demanding that Abulfaz Elchibey return to Baku. What about Colonel Surat Guseynov, a member of parliament? What about his supporters: Do they want his return to Baku? Did you have any talks on this subject with him?

[Aliyev] Guseynov wants Abulfaz Elchibey's resignation, wherever he is.

[Gahramanly] They do not want him to return to Baku then?

[Aliyev] I do not know.

[Gahramanly] My second question: You have talked to Surat Guseynov, [passage indistinct] the request which

he put forward, [word indistinct] I mean to express the idea of the incidents at Ganja, and the public going to his side—where did these requests come from? What social and political roots do they have?

[Aliyev] Surat Guseynov explains its social and political roots like this: On 4 June, in the town of Ganja, the military section under his command was attacked by state bodies. There was bloodshed. People were killed and a crime was committed by the state bodies. For this reason he has demanded the resignation of all those involed in this crime, including the president of Azerbaijan.

[Moderator] Mehdi Mamedov of The Information Center of the International Human Rights Society. Getting ready SHIMALY AZERBAIJAN newspaper.

[Mamedov] What effect do countries like Russia, Turkey, and Iran have on Azerbaijan with regard to the continuing present situation in Azerbaijan, in other words, its instability?

[Aliyev] As far I know they say that they want stability in Azerbaijan. They want the immediate removal of this confrontation and they want peace and order in Azerbaijan. I understood this after my talks with the government leaders and with the countries' ambassadors.

[Moderator] Bakhtiyar Azizli of SHIMALY AZERBAIJAN newspaper. Getting ready ETA news agency of Spain.

[Azizli] The recent events create the probability of the president's resignation. If President Abulfaz Elchibey resigns, what would you expect to happen in Azerbaijan?

[Aliyev] I do not want to say anything in advance regarding the solution of an important question.

[Azizli] Maybe as a politician.

[Aliyev] As a politician, there is a difference between today and tomorrow; there is also a difference between today and yesterday. Therefore, it is not necessary to outline a program now.

[Azizli] The second question: The main reason for the Abulfaz Elchibey leadership losing its influence among the people is directly connected with their defeat on the Karabakh fronts. When you come to power will you be able to reconcile with these facts?

[Aliyev] You know, I do not want to investigate the reasons why Abulfaz Elchibey lost his influence. However, it is definitely not connected solely with (?the defeat) in Karabakh. There are other reasons.

[Moderator]: Tergio Imberk of the Spanish ETA news agency. Getting ready the newspaper ZIYA.

[Imberk, in Russian] Excuse me, but could I ask you to return to the question of Lenkoran. Not all foreign correspondents are quite clear on this. Could you briefly explain your position. What do you know of (?Gumbetov's) statement, and were there any talks between you and Guseynov?

[Aliyev, in Russian] I have already explained, but you obviously do not understand Azeri, so I will try to explain in Russian. What happened with Lenkoran is a phenomenon which, to all intents and purposes, did not happen by chance. The mistakes in national policy which the state bodies allowed to happen in Azerbaijan—the issues of mutual relations between different ethnic groups and groups of different nationalities—led to a destabilization in the situation in some regions, including Lenkoran. This of course is naturally very regrettable and very worrying. Azerbaijan, as an independent state, is whole, unified, and indivisible, and there is no way that Azerbaijan should be divided into any sort of regions or cantons. The people who live and whose ancestors have lived for centuries in Azerbaijan—all the people of this land, the citizens of Azerbaijan—are all Azerbaijani and naturally, we cannot accept any attempt to establish any sort of republic or state entity in the Lenkoran zone. I believe that the people who announced this have not approached this issue with real seriousness.

[Imberk] Could you clarify one thing about the talks. Were there any talks?

[Aliyev] We have not held any talks in person, but our deputies, our politicians who are in contact with Surat Guseynov, have told me that there is no need to worry. There are no particular problems here.

[Imberk] Could I ask one more question: Could you tell me, I have a question which is purely legal in character. Can the National Assembly, in the absence of the president, settle the issue of his impeachment? And, the second part of this question: Will the National Assembly discuss the issue of summoning the Supreme Soviet?

[Aliyev] You know, several people have already asked this question. Believe me, as I have not considered this question, I do not know whether or not they can. I am being perfectly frank with you. But at the same time, I have said that the question of impeachment was raised at the session of the National Assembly, but I did not allow them the chance to develop this idea. As for summoning the Supreme Soviet, why shouldn't it be summoned? Of course it can be.

[Moderator] Behruz Afrizoglu of ZIYA newspaper. Getting ready the newspaper MUHAJIR.

[Afrizoglu] Esteemed Mr. Aliyev. Was not the state [word indistinct] which first took control of the Nakhichevan Ministry of Internal Affairs building, but was not successful, and the unsuccessful attack by Colonel Surat Guseynov, the national hero of Azerbaijan and his units, a continuation and a regular stage of a previous dirty political trick? This is the first question. I can repeat it if needed.

[Aliyev] I do not know what you relate this to. They wanted to [word indistinct], but it did not succeed.

[Behruz, interrupting] Is this not a continuation of the same trick, in Baku, against Surat Guseynov?

[Aliyev] It has nothing to do with these or those forces.

[Behruz] My second question: You have a great deal of influence among the worlds' politicians. Your week-long talks talks with 34- year old Surat Guseynov have not yielded any results. When will you relieve people of this state of shock? People have faith in you, they trust only you.

[Aliyev] If people trust me then they must know that I do all I can and I will continue to do so.

[Behruz] Thank you.

[Moderator]: Abuzar Ali of MUHAJIR. Getting ready [words indistinct].

[Ali] Esteemed teacher [ma'allim] Geydar, I would like to know about how much the foreign forces influence, the position they choose, serve the interest of the people of Azerbaijan?

[Aliyev] I cannot answer this question on their behalf. I was asked a question and I said that I had meetings with many leaders of foreign countries and their ambassadors, and all of them—in Turkey, Iran, America, Britain, Russia, and other countries—are in favor of securing stability in Azerbaijan. They made statements to this effect.

[Moderator] Eldeniz Guliyev of Debit Studio. Getting ready, Zaman Television.

[Guliyev] Esteemed teacher Geydar, more than most of those who are sitting here, I know Surat Guseynov very well. People who are in power, above all the president, find an excuse for his demands, and this could harm our statehood. I do not know which statehood they are talking about—either the population of 7 million remaining in a (?difficult) situation, or stumblings in our foreign and internal policy—I do not know which statehood. I would like you to define your approach. Is our statehood, as the power says, facing a danger? This is one question. Second, one of the demands of Surat Guseynov and of the people of Ganja is the convocation of the Supreme Soviet. This depends on you. I mean, why do you not convene? You could do this after all. You are the president according to the Constitution. Thank you.

[Aliyev] I ask you, what (?would happen) if the Supreme Soviet (?is not convened)?

[Guliyev] There could be a situation even worse than this, I mean in Azerbaijan, for the people of Azerbaijan. We must create a basis for the national reconciliation and after that we should [word indistinct]. Perhaps a session of the Supreme Soviet could secure a guarantee toward national reconciliation, or could set the grounds for it. This could happen too, teacher Geydar.

[Aliyev] Now I will (?ask) for this.

[Moderator] E'tibar Rahimov of Zaman Television. Getting ready the BBC.

[Rahimov] There is a more urgent question than those questions discussed here today and which cannot be tackled here today. Taking advantage of this complicated situation and the political crisis in the republic, criminal elements are rising up. According to a report I have received, yesterday the service cars of the Foreign Ministry and the Cabinet of Ministers were stolen. Strange things are going on. From the talks at the National Assembly yesterday between Rovshan Javadov, acting minister of internal affairs, and Safar Abiyev, acting minister of defense, it was understood that they could not control the situation. What measures will you take on this question. I am talking about the National Assembly. As long as the activity of criminal elements is not stopped, they will increase day by day. In the meantime, when will we hear the voice of the minister of national security? Thank you.

[Aliyev] We are taking all measures. Today, when the briefing began, I reported that the situation in Baku is tense. There is information about various saboteur groups, and necessary measures are being taken.

[Unidentified BBC correspondent, in Russian] The BBC has asked a question and the English-language BBC also has two questions: First, we do not know the essence of the talks between you and Guseynov.

[Aliyev in Russian] I will not say anything about the talks as there is no need for this.

[BBC correspondent] And the results of these talks?

[Aliyev] As for the results, this is what we are occupying ourselves with now. Thank you very much. Until our next meeting, goodbye.

Intellectuals Return From Nakhichevan, Meet Aliyev

NC2306192093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1745 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] A group of intellectuals headed by academician El'dar Salayev, president of the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences, went to Nakhichevan to hold talks with President Abulfaz Elchibey on the issue of his return to Baku. Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, received delegation members after they returned to Baku today. El'dar Salayev briefed him on the outcome of the visit:

Delegation members held talks with President Elchibey for two and a half hours. Elchibey said he left Baku for Nakhichevan not out of concern for his own safety, but to obstruct bloodshed in Baku. Elchibey also stressed

that he is prepared to return to Baku to hold talks with Geydar Aliyev and Suret Guseynov, as long as Guseynov's military units are not in Baku and the National Assembly adopts a resolution to guarantee the president's safety and establish peace and security in the capital. Elchibey also stressed that he is not to blame for the fratricide in Gyandzha and gave no instructions in that respect.

Geydar Aliyev also heard the views of the other delegation members. He said: The situation [words indistinct] is worsening daily. I have arrived in Baku upholding the concept of national solidarity and reconciliation. I have urged the National Assembly to comply with the same objective and the Constitution. Finding criminal elements behind the incidents in Gyandzha is [words indistinct]. The [words indistinct] and the people must be informed about the situation. Delaying or covering up the issue is impossible.

The participants at the meeting expressed various views on ways to remove the situation. They agreed that Elchibey [words indistinct].

National Independence Party's Mamedov on Events

PM2306165593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Etibar Mamedov, leader of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party, by Sokhbet Mamedov in Baku; date not given: "Etibar Mamedov: People's Front of Azerbaijan Has Behaved Like a Communist Party"]

[Text] The name of Etibar Mamedov, leader of the opposition Azerbaijan National Independence Party, is often mentioned among the politicians of Azerbaijan engaged in the search for a solution to the dramatic situation that has arisen in the republic. A comrade-in-arms of President Abulfaz Elchibey who paid for his political activity with several months' imprisonment in Lefortovo, E. Mamedov is today unequivocally convinced that responsibility for the tragic events which took place in Gyandzha lies primarily with the republic leadership headed by the president.

[IZVESTIYA] Etibar Bey, first of all, a few words about the factors which led to the events in Gyandzha.

[Mamedov] There is only one factor—it is the logical result of the policy carried out by President Abulfaz Elchibey. Over the last year the authorities have displayed total contempt for the laws, as a result of which the population has formed the impression that it is completely defenseless. Any discontent among the population is brutally supressed by both the state structures and the armed detachments of the People's Front—which, incidentally, were also formed in violation of existing legislation. By way of a glaring—and the most recent—example I would like to cite an incident which occurred 9 June during a session of the National Assembly. Representatives of the People's Front of Azerbaijan [PFA] surrounded the Supreme Soviet building and beat up several deputies. This happened after Faradzh Kuliyev, chairman of the PFA Executive Committee—he is a people's deputy as well—had announced to the Supreme Soviet session that the demonstrators had decided to take parliamentarians hostage in response to the actions of S. Guseynov.

Plenty of examples of this kind can be cited. I should remark that these methods have been raised to the rank of state policy, and, naturally, sooner or later, must end either in popular protest, or in a military insurrection against the authorities.

The PFA in effect behaved like the former Communist Party and has enjoyed special privileges. It has permitted itself to pass sentence on several political and state figures. The PFA has behaved in this manner with regard to S. Guseynov, declaring on 9 February this year that Colonel Guseynov is an enemy of the people and guilty of all the military failures on the Agdere Front. This is to all intents and purposes what lies at the basis of the present confrontation, which escalated because of the president's silence.

[IZVESTIYA] How likely is it that Col. Surat Guseynov's basic demands—for a session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet to be convened and for President A. Elchibey to resign—will be met? And where do you see a way out of the existing situation?

[Mamedov] Surat Guseynov believes that the president is personally responsible for the bloodshed which has occurred, so he is calling for Abulfaz Elchibey's resignation and insisting on convening a Supreme Soviet session, which will give a political evaluation of the republic leadership's actions. In my view, this task could also be handled by the National Assembly—the standing parliament, in whose hands lies the key to overcoming the crisis of power in Azerbaijan and the military confrontation. In short, I advocate a constitutional solution to the current crisis, and for my part I will make every effort to ensure that the development of events does not overstep the law.

[IZVESTIYA] Many observers perceive the demand for the president's return from Nakhichevan to Baku as an attempt to entice Elchibey into the capital and then force him to resign.

[Mamedov] This does not quite accord with the facts. The president is head of state, and at the same time commander in chief of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces. Being in a remote village of the republic, he is to all intents and purposes deprived of the opportunity to run the state. This is why he should return immediately and set about exercising his powers. As for his political responsibility for the Gyandzha events, that should be determined by the deputies' investigative commission formed by the National Assembly.

[IZVESTIYA] How accurate are press reports that the president proposed that you head the republic government, but that you refused?

[Mamedov] I am convinced that it would be a mistake to accept an offer emanating from the president and today's compromised authorities. In my view, right now Azerbaijan is more in need of a government of national confidence.

[IZVESTIYA] Will today's military confrontation spill over into civil war?

[Mamedov] I venture to hope not. I believe in the good sense of our people.

Guseynov Statement Denies Reports of Pillaging

LD2306143093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1251 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Report by KHABAR-SERVIS news agency correspondent Lada Klokova from Baku]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] This afternoon, a statement by Colonel Surat Guseynov was read on Azerbaijani national television expressing concern at the rumors being spread by official persons that his troops, stationed on the outskirts of Baku, are engaging in pillage and provocations. Surat Guseynov stated officially that he had given the appropriate instructions to his own units, which they cannot but carry out. He assessed such actions by the authorities as another lie and an attempt to destabilize the situation.

Meanwhile, it has been learned from authoritative sources in the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry that Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov returned from Gyandzha last night, where he had held talks with Col. Surat Guseynov at his own initiative, and this morning he flew to the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, in all probability to meet the president. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, the Azerbaijani president was sent a message from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher that expresses support for the president. The document also says the United States has urged all its allies, and Russia, to use their power to provide the utmost support for democracy in Azerbaijan. The same day a statement was made by the Turkish Foreign Ministry that stressed that the latest events in Azerbaijan will have a negative effect on the development of the republic, which had taken the road of creating a free and democratic state.

People's Front Declares Party Has No 'Armed Groups'

NC2306144293 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1304 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] doesn't have armed groups, says a declaration adopted today at the Supreme Mejlis meeting of APF we decline all attacks on APF, increased recently from leadership of Milli Mejlis and state that that illegal armed groups of Suret Guseynov and law enforcement authorities will be responsible for possible confrontations. APF demands the authorities to take all measures to stop political repressions against members of APF, which took place in the districts, occupied by rebels. The adopted statement considers Gyandzha events as an attempt of state coup. It says that People's Front will continue its struggle to project Azeri independence by peaceful means it was also decided to appeal to democratic forces of the world. At the same time there was a meeting in front on APF building. About 1,000 people took part at this meeting. Declaration and statement of APF Supreme Mejlis were read at the meeting.

Elchibey Interviewed Before Departure From Baku

NC2306140793 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 19 Jun 93 p 5

[Interview with President Abulfaz Elchibey by Mahmud al-Manawi in Baku "a few hours before his escape"]

[Text] [Al-Manawi] What have you done since you took power a year ago to assert your entitlement to the area of Nagorno-Karabakh disputed between you and Armenia?

[Elchibey] There has been a misunderstanding about our entitlement to the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh. The misunderstanding extended not only to the Western press, but to the Arab and Egyptian press as well. There was talk about the region being Armenian territory and some wondered why Azerbaijan did not give the region to Armenia. As the world admitted later, the truth is that the region is Azerbaijani territory. Efforts exerted at the various international and diplomatic levels confirmed this fact.

[Al-Manawi] Speaking about the press and what it writes about this war, it has repeatedly been circulated that there is no military parity between you and Armenia. What does this mean?

[Elchibey] This lack of parity raises an important question: Who supports whom? The Russian military machine has been behind the Armenians; it has been assisting them for a long time. The evidence can be found in the notorious incident in the city of Khodzhaly, which was attacked by the Russian "336" crew [as published] before the Armenians seized it and committed massive massacres. The Russians were fighting side by side with the Armenians against us. This fact was confirmed during our fighting with the Armenians; some of those killed on the Armenians side were Russians. Furthermore, five Russians who fought with the Armenians against us were taken prisoner and sentenced to death.

[Al-Manawi] Mr. President, there is fear that your country might continue in a long war that depletes your resources. What, in your view, is the optimal approach to resolving this dispute and ending this destructive war?

[Elchibey] You are right of course; the war is destroying our economy. Therefore, we are trying to find a peaceful solution so that we can put the wealth of our land to good use and rejuvenate our economy. Azerbaijan has vast oil reserves estimated at hundreds of millions of tons. In cooperation with Western companies, crude oil production will be increased from 3 million to 40 million tons annually. We will exploit this wealth to build our national economy.

[Al-Manawi] Are there countries other than Russia that assist Armenia in this war?

[Elchibey] I seize this opportunity to respond to rumors claiming that certain Arab states are helping Armenia. This is completely untrue. It is true that there is a wide Armenian base in Lebanon. It includes some extremist and terrorist elements who might have links with Arab terrorist elements and arms dealers. People may come from Lebanon to fight on Armenia's side in its unfair war against Azerbaijan, but we cannot say that this is happening with the help of an Arab state.

[Al-Manawi] Mr. President, what can Egypt and other Arab countries do to support your efforts to achieve peace?

[Elchibey] Armenia started this unjust war. I see a need for political and economic pressure on Armenia to end the war. Arab countries, particularly Egypt, have international weight they can use to encourage major countries to issue a decision in favor of peace.

[Al-Manawi] What is the U.S. and West European view of your just cause? The United States and West Europe are interested in investing in your oil-rich and strategic country.

[Elchibey] We know the U.S. position. The United States seeks to resolve the problem through peaceful means. It sees Azerbaijan as a democratic country and acknowledges that this territory belongs to Azerbaijan.

[Al-Manawi] Aside from your need to defend your country's independence, what are the chief tasks facing Azerbaijan today?

[Elchibey] Our main goal now is to build a national army capable of defending the sovereignty of our land. We have rid Azerbaijan of Russian military presence. Of all the 15 former Soviet republics, Azerbaijan is the only one on whose soil there is not one Russian soldier. We have a chance to achieve this goal in full now that our industry is no longer under Russian control.

[Al-Manawi] Mr. President, what is the political orientation of independent Azerbaijan? About 80 percent of Azerbaijanis are Muslims. What is the relation between religion and government?

[Elchibey] We aim to build an independent and democratic state. The ideology of Azerbaijan is reflected in our tricolor with the crescent and the star: Blue represents the people's will; red is the mix of modernism with tradition; green and the crescent symbolize Islam and the Islamic civilization. The Muslim faith is an integral part of our culture.

[Al-Manawi] Mr. President, what is the economic identity of Azerbaijan following independence?

[Elchibey] Our economy is capitalist and free. However, we are moving in gradual steps because we cannot achieve the transition from a controlled economy to capitalism all at once. The pace of change will depend on the vitality of the foreign trade and private sectors. We have begun "privatizing" the services sector. However, we have increased the wages of the poor to protect them from the effects of economic change.

[Al-Manawi] Mr. President, there are reports from inside Azerbaijan confirming that the war conditions have compelled the ruling regime to take measures that conflict with the democracy you are eager to establish to make your country an independent democratic state. What is your stand vis-a-vis democracy?

[Elchibey] I am working to establish real democracy in Azerbaijan. We are applying democratic laws as they are applied in democratic countries. For example, we have a free press and every citizen has the right to publish a newspaper without any restrictions. Some citizens started to publish newspapers even before completing the legal measures. We now have more than 525 newspapers. Here is another example: There are 60 parties pursuing political activity in addition to 150 societies carrying out political activities.

[Al-Manawi] Waves of extremism in the name of religion are increasing all over the world. How do you analyze this international phenomenon?

[Elchibey] Regarding Islam, extremism will not find a way to the heart of anyone who studies the tenets of Islam. Strengthening the teaching of Islamic civilization will leave no place for extremist elements.

[Al-Manawi] What are the priorities on the agenda of your visit to Egypt?

[Elchibey] We want to raise our relations with Egypt to the embassy level to strengthen cultural, political, and economic relations with Egypt in view of the latter's Arab, international, and Islamic status. The government is currently holding talks with Egyptian officials to obtain cultural and Islamic aid. We want teachers of the Arabic language and Islamic studies, particularly books on heritage and Islamic manuscripts.

[Al-Manawi] What are the extent and depth of relations with Iran, particularly as there are 20 million ethnic Azeris living in Iran? How do you view Turkey's experiment?

[Elchibey] I can confirm to you that we do in fact have economic relations with Turkey and Iran. But with regard to political relations with Iran, there are still some matters that need to be decided and the frameworks for

them are being drawn up now. In any case, our political leaning is nearer to Turkey because we are moving toward building a democratic secular state in Azerbaijan.

Finally, we do not interfere in Iran's internal affairs but are seeking to establish good relations with it within the framework of our commitment to the policy of good neighborliness.

[Interviewer's note] The president cleverly anticipated my question when he saw me focusing my eyes on a picture engraved on a golden pin on his jacket lapel.

He said: This is a picture of Kemal Ataturk.

Suddenly I found the man talking about late President Anwar al-Sadat. He said: President al-Sadat was much influenced by Kemal Ataturk's personality. I respect al-Sadat because he was a bold man and had a leading role in the Egyptian revolution.

Georgia

Shevardnadze on NATO Involvement in Regional Conflicts

LD2306184293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1807 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels June 23 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze visited the U.N. headquarters in Brussels on Wednesday [23 June].

He said that NATO should take a more active part in the settlement of regional problems, including in Abkhazia.

Upon completion of his meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, Shevardnadze said that "if Europe does not act promptly with the aim of putting an end to clashes in the Caucasus, it runs the risk of paying a high price for the delay."

Addressing permanent representatives of NATO member-states, Shevardnadze pointed out that Georgia welcomes "any kind" of participation by NATO and the Council for North Atlantic Cooperation in efforts aimed at the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, including in peace-keeping operations. In order to get a better idea of problems faced by the Caucasian region, Shevardnadze suggested that one of the sessions of the Council for North Atlantic Cooperation, which includes NATO countries, countries of Western Europe and former Soviet republics, should be held in Tbilisi.

The Georgian leader noted that the character, the scale and possible consequences of conflicts on the former Soviet territory make it impossible for any country to cope with them single-handed. Positive results can be achieved only due to the interaction of all international structures, Shevardnadze said.

"Clearly realising the importance of the Russian factor in the settlement of the conflict in Georgia, we come out for closer cooperation in this region with international and European structures," Shevardnadze said.

He pointed out that the success of democratic reforms carried out in Russia is "a question of life and death" for Georgia. "It would have been an unforgivable mistake to believe that democratic forces in Russia led by President Boris Yeltsin have won a complete and irreversible victory," Shevardnadze said.

"Therefore, the support of reformation efforts made by the progressive wing of the Russian leradership should remain the main strategic task of the West," Shevardnadze pointed out.

Greeting the Georgian guest, Woerner said that countries of the North Atlantic Alliance should find the means of the settlement of regional conflicts, including the conflict in Abkhazia, which, if neglected, might pose a threat to stability not only in the Caucasus, but far beyond.

When asked about a possibility of NATO involvement in peace- keeping operations in Abkhazia, Woerner reminded of the fact that NATO can only support efforts made by the United Nations or the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Shevardnadze Responds to Parliamentary Opponents

PM2306140593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Denisov report: "Opposition in Georgia Stepped Up. Eduard Shevardnadze Demands Additional Powers in Response to Accusations"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The latest Georgian parliament session ahead of Eduard Shevardnadze's departure for Europe and following the mass rallies demanding the head of state's resignation was awaited with tremendous interest. Irakliy Tsereteli, chairman of the National Independence Party, and Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists, reiterated their ideas as to the unlawfulness of the election law on the basis of which a person (meaning E. Shevardnadze—Denisov) who held full power entered the leadership.

Asatiani left the head of state a small chance by saying that Shevardnadze can keep his post if he promises a very speedy solution to the crisis. "I don't think that there is a person today who can promise the impossible," Eduard Shevardnadze said in his response. He demanded additional powers to restore proper order, the list of which is scheduled for discussion after the Georgian parliament chairman's trip abroad. The head of state assured his opponents that many of their comments will be taken into consideration in the draft of the republic's new constitution. At the same time he warned that representatives of political parties must stop their

visits to troop units aimed at "turning" them against the country's leadership and the army. According to Eduard Shevardnadze, most servicemen are themselves expelling emissaries of this kind and saying that they will remain loyal to the people and the country.

Kavsadze: Cease-Fire Talks Lack 'Good Progress'

LD2306170393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Alexsandr Kavsadze, the Georgian head of state's special envoy on the issue of the settlement of the Abkhazian conflict, said at a news conference held in the Georgian Embassy in Moscow on 22 June that talks between Georgians and Abkhazians on a cease-fire in the combat zone are not making good progress. We felt that the Gudauta side does not wish to sign a truce agreement, Kavsadze said.

The talks, in which Russian representatives also participated, were held in Moscow last week. They discussed issues of a cease- fire agreement and a mechanism to control its implementation.

As Kavsadze said, the Gudauta side refused to sign the agreement despite concessions made by the Georgian side. He also noted that the Gudauta delegation expressed no criticism toward the text of the agreement. As Kavsadze said, the Gudauta representatives refuse to sign a cease-fire agreement detached from a comprehensive settlement of the Abkhazian problem, and they demand that talks on a comprehensive settlement be held. They said that they were ready to begin such talks immediately.

The head of the Georgian delegation said that talks are planned to resume in a week's time. As he pointed out, a UN representative stated that a meeting between Georgians and Abkhazians should be held under UN auspices, with the participation of Russia.

Having criticized a statement by the Russian State Committee for Nationalities Policy signed by Sergey Shakhray, Sandro Kavsadze considered as unprecedented an approach according to which this statement makes an inter-state treaty between Russia and Georgia dependant on success in settling the Abkhazian conflict. An inter- state treaty becomes a hostage of the extremists, Sandro Kavsadze said. As he put it, the State Committee for Nationalities Policy only encourages Abkhazian separatists and extremists.

The report was supplied by the press center of the Georgian Embassy.

Government Forces Shell Abkhaz Positions

LD2306144893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1347 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 23 TASS—Early on Wednesday [23 June], Abkhazian positions in the Gumista front line and the settlements of Eshera, Gvandra, Noviy Afon came under artillery fire opened by the Georgian side. Damages were reported.

The Abkhazian side retaliated, suppressing the Georgian fire, ITAR-TASS learned from the press service of the Abkhazian parliament.

According to the Abkhazian Defence Ministry, late on Tuesday Georgian troops redistributed their forces in a new district of the city of Sukhumi and the settlement of Achadara.

The press centre of Georgian troops, stationed in Abkhazia, reported that on Wednesday morning, Abkhazian troops shelled residential districts of Sukhumi from Grad rocket launchers and howitzers. Over a hundred shells exploded in the centre of the city, causing numerous damages. Casualties were reported, Georgian sources said.

Russian Humanitarian Aid Group Departs

LD2306191993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1446 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Yegor Sizov, deputy head of the Sochi town administration, has announced that members of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations who were delivering humanitarian aid to Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli, and Gagra have departed for Moscow. Before their departure, Sergey Shoygu, a member of the committee, made a statement in which he explained that the reason for their departure was that the Abkhazian and Georgian forces have been attempting to settle political issues at the expense of the civilian population in the area by impeding planned deliveries of aid to them. Sergey Shoygu stated that there are quite a number of armed units in this zone which are not under the control of either the Abkhazian or Georgian commanders, and he expressed the hope that the humanitarian action will be resumed in the near future.

The deputy head of the administration stated that an order has been given to the port of Sochi to forbid the reception of any vessels, apart from passenger vessels, coming from Poti and Batumi to halt the traffic in weapons. Five posts have been placed along the Russian-Georgian border and the volume of the traffic passing through the port of Psou has also been reduced. According to Mr. Sizov, over the last few months, there have only been a few instances of armed men being apprehended. The border is being very strictly controlled.

Latvia

Godmanis Interviewed on Credit Deals

WS2306131693 Riga DIYENA in Russian 21 May 93 No. 99 p 2, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis by Pauls Raudseps, DIYENA's first deputy editor-in-chief, and newspaper commentators Ainars Dimants and Kaspars Kaulins; under the "Commentaries and Opinions" rubric: "If This Has Not Been Done, It Means Exactly What It Means"]

[Text] [Raudseps] **Exactly when did you learn about the $400 million credit deal? In December? January?**

[Godmanis] I can state with all responsibility that I learned about this after all bills had already been signed. I do not remember the exact month, but Mr. Prusis told me about this in an unofficial conversation. When I asked him whether all documents had really been signed, his response was positive.

[Raudseps] **Why didn't you do anything to stop this deal?**

[Godmanis] That is a good question. On the one hand, all these credits have a long story. Many ministers used to bring creditors to me. We had proposals from Austria and France. As a rule, some mediating firm emerges and begins telling fantastic stories about someone who is ready to extend credits, particularly to Latvia. Why especially to Latvia? One ambassador called them loan sharks who hang around unstable and underdeveloped countries and offer their services. Savisaar and Vagnorius also said that they had had similar proposals. I know that someone fell for the bait. If I am not mistaken, this was Belarus. That is why I have always categorically rejected such proposals.

The trouble is that I found out about this deal after all papers had already been signed. Ms. Jurkane should have come to me at least once and described the actual situation. I have also a difficulty in replying why the finance minister resigned suddenly. Silins always referred to the fact that he disliked the government leaders. Certainly, I persuaded him to stay, and he worked for some time. However, shortly before adopting the budget for 1993 he resigned.

It is untrue that we discussed the issue of the $400 million loan at the government meeting. We only spoke about the general mechanism of credits and did not mention any definite loans.

[Kaulins] **Are you afraid of bringing this sort of deal to light?**

[Godmanis] I am not scared to bring anything to light.

[Kaulins] **You have always stressed that it is important for the government to be a unified team.**

[Godmanis] Unfortunately, I must admit that it is becoming more difficult to control the government with the upcoming elections. I have had many cases when ministers resigned. This happened to the minister of justice, who insisted on submitting his resignation because lawyers had many problems. We held a lawyers' conference and allocated some money to them. I hoped that the minister would continue his work because very little time was left. However, he came and announced that he had found a job at some private structure. I could do nothing but let him go.

Even today I cannot find people who would like to work in the government. I must appoint a minister within a month according to the law. However, where can I find a minister who will come to work for a month or two? Thus, I must appoint acting ministers who have no decisive vote. This situation is abnormal.

[Raudseps] **Were you loyal to your ministers and did you defend them?**

[Godmanis] Yes, I was, because it is impossible to work if one does not trust his people. One of the tasks of any prime minister is to defend his ministers. Ministers must often solve very unpleasant problems, particularly in this difficult situation. I must also assume certain responsibilities.

[Dimants] **What was your reaction after you had learned about this? Did you think of holding back the whole issue?**

[Godmanis] No, I did not think so. However, we should not forget that our national economy has not had any investments lately. This is what Jurkane also mentioned in her address. The IMF credits are paltry. They can help us satisfy only the essential needs, as was the case with paying off the debt for the farmers. We cannot execute a normal credit policy because our banking system is not ready for this.

[Kaulins] **At the same time, you approved the ceiling established by the International Monetary Fund. This organization stated in its memorandum that the balance of credits guaranteed by the government must not exceed $360 million.**

[Godmanis] This document has not yet been adopted. We are going to discuss it at the committee meeting. In any case, this ceiling will become the law after its approval. This concerns only government guarantees. If some enterprise, even a state one, is able to supply itself with loans independently, let it do this.

[Dimants] **Did government meetings discuss the question that the proposals from dubious creditors should be rejected?**

[Godmanis] We have discussed this several times. I presented this sad experience as an example. This may have played the key role in this case, which was conducted not in line with the government, but in a roundabout way.

[Raudseps] **What have you done to create a mechanism of accountability of government officials that did not exist in the old system?**

[Godmanis] First of all, we eliminated the positions of deputies. I do not have a single deputy. This abolished a two-level system in which deputies of the prime minister supervised respective ministries. In this case it is very difficult to find the accountable person, because we have the accountability of ministers, deputies, and the government. The new situation increases the load on the prime minister. However, this also means that if a minister signs a government resolution he becomes accountable for it. We have "cropped" the government machine considerably. Currently I have no more than 20 aides.

[Dimants] **What will Mr. Prusis and Mr. Silins be accountable for?**

[Godmanis] First of all, they must realize their accountability themselves. If Mr. Prusis proposed this deal at the very beginning, he should have also understood his responsibility.

[Raudseps] **However, this is not the accountability before one's conscience alone. Who will answer before the state and the people? This case could have become a threat to the Latvian state.**

[Godmanis] Unfortunately, yes. Accountability must be complete. If one ventures such a move, one must be answerable for it. I can only say that lessons are necessary. We can speak about this several times. However, people do not believe that this game with credits is an absolute fraud. Let us think about who will extend such huge credits to our country.

Why did I not begin to topple officials one after another? The thing was that everything had already been accomplished, and I did not know whom I could replace and what I could change. It is very good that Ms. Jurkane annulled these bills. Thank God that she behaved so. On the other hand, however, I still cannot understand why these bills were returned.

[Raudseps] **Are you sure that these bills are in a safe place?**

[Godmanis] Yes, I am. The bills are in a secure place, and similar shady deals will not recur. This is a lesson for future governments, particularly at the time when the ceiling of the domestic state debt will be fixed. This, in turn, means that the government has no right to do anything like this. Estonia and Lithuania have laws that prohibit the government from providing security for similar loans. The legislature decides everything. Certainly, this delays the procedure.

Industries are starved for credits. They do not get a nickel. We earmarked $14 billion from our credit to the Latvijas Gaze enterprise for settling accounts with Russia. If we had stopped paying Russia, it would have cut gas supplies for Latvia from 1 May. In this case, we would have had no gas for the next heating season. The same applies to the $10 million credit for agriculture, which was used for purchasing imported equipment. The latter enabled processing enterprises to pay off their debts. This was an emergency credit.

The government has several times debated the following issue: If the legislature removes someone, will the government resign in its entirety? We discussed this question when Mr. Kalnins was removed. He was responsible for the economic reforms. His removal meant that the entire government policy in the economic reform was wrong.

[Kaulins] **When did you realize that the team no longer existed?**

[Godmanis] I cannot say that we have no team. In any case, when everyone knows that the government is approaching its end, it is very difficult to control it. However, this must be done because there are a lot of urgent issues. The new legislature will meet for the first time only on 6 July—a month after the 5 June elections. The government will function all this time. The principle of power continuity must be preserved.

If a new coalition government is formed in a month after the elections, we will submit our resignation on 6 July.

I have already seen the paper on the no-confidence vote, signed by all prominent people opposing the government—Bojars, Steins, Gulbis.... This is a purely political game. If we permit the government to resign now, we will have chaos without a government or a legislature. I should not sit here and fight to the end for certain political reasons. It would be much easier to be in the opposition and shout, as the mentioned politicians do.

[Dimants] **However, the question remains: What will happen to Prusis and Silins?**

[Godmanis] The government commission is working on this issue, and it will submit its conclusion to the Supreme Council Economic Committee, which will adopt the final decision. We will have to resolve this issue. We cannot escape this problem and should consider it seriously. I still cannot understand why Ms. Jurkane did not appeal to me with this problem....

[Dimants] **How could you explain the fact that ministers generously sign documents under such dubious conditions?**

[Godmanis] There can be two replies. At best it would turn out that a person is anxious about the total collapse of his industry. The minister has an inner feeling that the best outcome is to obtain credits and he is ready to take a risk. It is worse when this is associated with some other purpose, if it is only possible to check everything professionally.

[Dimants] **It is interesting that only $160 million were allotted to the Bronetskiy enterprise out of the total sum.**

There are the remaining $240 million. which are supposedly meant for other industries.

[Godmanis] This may be associated with energy problems. For example, let us take the construction of a thermoelectric power station in Liepaja that would work on imported coal. We have talked to a number of firms that are eager to build it. Their representatives usually say: We are ready to invest $150 million, but you must find another $150 million yourselves. The energy problem is very serious. We have applied for help even from Taiwan. However, thus far no one has shown any desire to lend us the money.

[Dimants] **It is difficult to imagine that Mr. Prusis would have supplied the Interior Ministry with finances, as Mr. Cevers told DIYENA. Was this issue discussed at the government meeting?**

[Godmanis] The minutes of each government meeting are recorded. This norm may have existed in the relations among the ministers. The system is such that the government must adopt the decision. If this has not been done, it means exactly what it means.

[Kaulins] **What can you say about Mr. Kruze? You demanded his removal. However, nothing happened.**

[Godmanis] I have seen his application for leave on my desk. I have heard very many demands to dismiss certain people. I wanted to dismiss not only Mr. Kruze but also Mr. Jansons, director of Latvijas Nafta. You see, the paradox is that I may fire no one, and that only a minister can do this. Laws on employment do exist. Mr. Millers faced the same problem when I ordered him to remove the director of Ventspils Nafta. Mr. Millers accomplished this, but he lost the case in court. It is necessary to provide some justification for why some person does not suit the position. I hope that the future government will show more precision in responding to such cases.

[Raudseps] **The position of Mr. Kruze is rated as political in Western countries. In similar cases, one should observe the principle of political accountability rather than the laws on employment.**

[Godmanis] This question has several aspects. For example, we receive a complaint from the employees of the Customs Department about Mr. Geidans. At the same time, after a thorough examination of this issue at the government meeting, we do not have enough grounds to remove him.

[Raudseps] **Have you tried to change this attitude toward political positions?**

[Godmanis] The norms of laws on employment apply to all government leaders. Only ministers are an exception. It is necessary to adopt a law on government employees that would state what they are allowed or forbidden to do. This law should define social guarantees and salaries because officials will not work for little money. The same law should guarantee their pensions in the event that they are unable to perform their functions. We should not let them finish on the streets. If he violated some norm, he would be removed in line with the law. I do not know why this draft law is stuck at the Supreme Council Legislative Committee. This applies not only to government members, but to all people in government service. This was one of the items in our emergency program. However, such a law does not exist, and we have only the norms of employment laws.

[Dimants] **The time has come to summarize the activities of your government. What is the contribution of your government to the economic reform and can it be discerned in the activities of the Supreme Council?**

[Godmanis] In the process of reform we have tried to avoid social outbreaks and the closure of separate industries.

For example, we resolved the problem with heating. Certainly, we have not yet settled the financial aspect. The government supports the private sector that supplies energy resources. Lithuania did not do this, and it had great problems with heating. Contrary to our neighbors, we gave our private firms the chance to supply us with black oil and fuel. This is very important, because no serious reform is possible when it is cold. We also formed the state reserves because we were uncertain about whether private firms would be able to supply all Latvia with fuel. We took a bank loan and accumulated the state reserves through private firms. These reserves were turned over to the local authorities, who were freezing. A purely financial issue remains to be settled: Will they pay us for this or not? We have actually used up pensioners' coupons for heating as an interest-free credit. Pensioners who live in houses with central heating (about half of them—at least 360,000) do not protest against these coupons because they pay with them.

The second issue that we have resolved concerns agriculture. First, in early 1992, we took a loan of LVR [Latvian rubles] 400 million from the social budget to pay the farmers. Second, we arranged a domestic loan of LVR1.1 billion from rich enterprises that work for exports (Latvian Steamship Lines and others). We passed this internal credit to agrarians to pay their debts. Third, when farmers stated that a dry summer was awaiting us, that we would harvest less than a million tonnes of grain, and that we might starve, we immediately introduced world prices for grain. We subsidized agriculture when selling diesel fuel for five rubles which was actually worth 15 rubles. Thus far, we have not received the 10-ruble difference. After this we again sold cheap fuel on property credit that has not been repaid. All this was necessary from the political point of view so that no one could say: You have accomplished privatization, but you see what is happening.

At one time we insisted on extraordinary powers for the government in the sphere of privatization. There were cases when local authorities took over food stores and

the entire trade system, and privatization was suspended—neither the 5-year leasing nor other options could develop, particularly in Riga. Then we set up a government emergency commission headed by myself, and we privatized food stores. Things began to get moving, and trade was gradually transferred into private hands. Such were the extraordinary powers that the government received from the Supreme Council.

[Dimants] **We can say that you have applied emergency measures and created conditions for reform. Did you have any strategic plan concerning the trend and method of reform? Did the government have such a program?**

[Godmanis] We had three programs on which we based our actions. The Supreme Council has not yet made its choice. The same happened with two programs in 1991 and 1992. The same applies to the emergency measures that we were required to present as a plan of definite actions. Despite the decision of the lawmakers, we moved ahead.

[Dimants] **Have you fulfilled these programs?**

[Godmanis] We have implemented about 85 to 90 percent of the emergency program. After concluding an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, it is natural that our entire program is coordinated with its memorandum. We observed the IMF memorandum strictly. The IMF proposed a general program of government action. The inflation rate is falling not only due to the policy of the Latvian Bank, but also due to the moves of the government. Our actions in restricting the wage growth in line with the IMF requirements enabled us to free prices. Wages did not follow prices at the same rate. That is why our stores filled up and prices became stable. We reached the moment when prices dropped for the first time—in April they were lower than in March. The inflation rate was only 0.3 percent.

[Dimants] **Do you think that the IMF program was sufficient, and that we did not need any additional strategy?**

[Godmanis] I can say with all responsibility that our situation is the best compared with Estonia and Lithuania. By the way, our pensions are higher than those in the neighboring countries. Our monetary unit is more stable, and the choice of goods is much more diverse. The rate of flow of foreign capital into Latvia is higher. You can notice this if you go to Vilnius and later take a stroll around Riga—the difference is enormous.

The basic strategy remains the same—how to restructure our national economy. However, this requires credits. We have became truly independent only after introducing our national currency. Prior to this, we balanced things with the help of incredible efforts.... The positive thing is that our current foreign trade balance with Western Europe is favorable, although it includes the greater part of re-exports. We may follow the Polish model after we manage to enlarge the private sector, rather than to speedily transform state enterprises into private ones.

The saying that privatization is being halted is very popular. However, something else is being suspended—the issue of certificates has been unclear. I must admit frankly that I myself could not comprehend this issue for a long time. One of the greatest problems of the future government will be the introduction of these certificates: How do we back them with property? How will they be used in investment funds? How will we be able to deal with them? Certificates are a more serious matter than heating coupons because they are securities, documents for property. If we had solved this issue promptly, we would have moved much farther.

[Kaulins] **You have mentioned Estonia. Its government is very proud that it has actually stopped supporting enterprises that are on the verge of bankruptcy. Estonia also boasts of increasing the amount of the stock capital at commercial banks, which enabled it to liquidate a number of insolvent banks.**

[Godmanis] Nor do we subsidize anyone. Not a single industrial enterprise gets a nickel from the state budget. We do not render direct support to agriculture or industry. The state budget lacks such money, because its 56 percent is meant for social needs. I do not know what Estonia can boast of when its commercial banks go bankrupt. If some large commercial bank becomes insolvent, this cannot be seen as an achievement. Thank God that in Latvia all commercial banks are still sound. The policy of the Latvian Bank toward commercial banks is considerably flexible.

[Raudseps] **You have said that one of your achievements was that you restricted the wage growth. Presently, many people reproach you with the government decision to increase pensions and wages because of the political nature of this issue.**

[Godmanis] We accomplished this after the heating season had ended. That is why this move was not political. If we raised the minimum wage today, this would be a political move—in its last days, the government is trying to do something that would leave a favorable impression. We added the 1,500 rubles for heating to wages. This is logical, because we do not heat any longer. This does not mean that delayed charges for heating should remain unpaid.

According to the law, if we increase the minimum wages, we must also raise pensions. Only the Supreme Council may adopt a decision banning this. On the one hand, we understand that it is senseless to increase the budget deficit. On the other hand, however, I realize very well that we will have to increase budget revenues.

I know that the IMF will demand that the new government increase the turnover tax. Let it be 18 percent, like in Estonia, and apply to all goods, because our budget is not getting any fuller. Excise and customs duties are

collected irregularly. However, we should bear in mind that Poland, the Czech Republic, and other East European countries have not yet settled this issue, and that their situation is not an iota better than ours. We should impose import taxes on gas on the border because it is practically impossible to tax its turnover— gas is sold at every corner, straight from trucks. This would be another source for covering the expenses for pension increases alongside the turnover tax—nearly LVR2-2.5 billion. Moreover, I believe that the turnover tax on food stuffs must be cut by half. I am not certain that we should take Estonia's course, where all rates of the turnover tax are identical. If we intended to fully implement the law on pensions, we would have to speak not of LVR4 billion but of the additional LVR12 billion from the state budget for pensions.

It is clear that we cannot speak about the tax increase in the Supreme Council because the reply is the following: no one raises taxes before elections. In any case, the pressure on the government concerning our nondifferentiated pensions is terrible. I suppose that the new government and the Saeima will have to solve this issue. The same applies to the excise and import taxes for gas. Our turnover tax is amazingly small—it is lower than in Germany, Austria, and other countries.

[Kaulins] **Speaking of taxes, it is very important to take into account the control over their collection. What mechanism has your government developed for this?**

[Godmanis] We have tried to strengthen the inspection system through different measures—by appointing additional people to help and by granting a chance to use 20 percent from the exacted sum for its own needs. We had plans to unite the customs service and the financial inspection into one system that would function on the border. Another option was to combine the economic police with the financial inspection. We have accomplished almost nothing here.

[Dimants] **What was the actual reason for delaying privatization? Did the absence of a strategic plan have any influence on this?**

[Godmanis] I think that we delayed the adoption of the law on the privatization of food processing enterprises. People perceive property credits as something that goes without saying and do not think that they must be returned. When state enterprises become stock companies, where producers will have their own share of capital, one will not say that the government is indebted. We need credits. Otherwise, it is impossible to settle the system of payments so that the producer can receive the money right after delivering milk or meat.

After receiving the results of an independent inspection, the government should have the right not to hold any bids or auctions concerning the granting of the right to invest in large projects.

The rate of privatization, respective laws, and social guarantees—all three factors should function together. Not one of them may be given priority. The experience of Eastern Europe shows that the second stage of reform (when prices are free and inflation is halted) gives rise to long processes which hamper the solution of many issues. For example, the privatization of large enterprises has not been resolved in Poland, the Czech Republic, or anywhere else. Unfortunately, the mechanism for this has not yet been invented.

[Kaulins] **What would you like to wish the new government?**

[Godmanis] First of all, I believe that some continuity must be preserved. I am very concerned that some radical reversible processes may set in. I am speaking about ownership relations (appropriation of property or its redistribution). I am definitely against such socialist approach.

The new government must strengthen the tax control mechanism. The same applies to their exaction. This is one of the well-grounded claims to our government. We are either unable to create a new control system, or we lack time for this. The question about what people can work in this system must be made clear first of all. Will they have enough social guarantees? Will they have to face racketeers and other criminal forces? Second, this work must be well paid. The formation of such structures as the financial inspection, customs, and police lasts for years. This is not a day's job. We must resolve the issue of training the customs staff.

We can only hope that Russia will free prices for energy, that they will become similar, and that the customs house will be able to work normally. Otherwise, the pressure on the customs service will remain.

What does the principle of a political government mean? This is a very complicated question. We were unable to form a political government because ours is a typical provisional government. In this transitory period, professionalism is inseparable from politics. In order to pass to the principle of a political government, it is necessary to understand that the national economy functions within a legal framework and that it is independent. As long as the share of the state property remains large, a full transition to a political government is questionable. Only professionals must work in a political government. A politician or his deputy is a number-one person. [Take

[Text] **[Kaulins] Will the new government inherit such professional employees? Have you constructed such a government machine?**

[Godmanis] We are creating it now. According to the law "On the Council of Ministers," each ministry has a state secretary who remains even if ministers change. True, each new minister can replace his secretary. A state secretary heads the staff of a given ministry. The top leaders may change, but the foundation remains. However, this system will not begin to function even under the next two or three governments.

[Dimants] **Thus far, this government machine has been the Soviet-type structure. Is it likely to change?**

[Godmanis] I hope that it will be restructured. Well-educated people do not come to work in the government. They go to commercial structures, banks, and other places. However, I do not believe that this will continue forever, because every business has a saturation point. In the future, those who have acquired their education in the West could form the core of the new government.

Another possibility is those people who have proven themselves in business and would like to engage in politics. Similar tendencies can already be noticed in Latvia. However, business and government service are two different things. The government cannot function on business principles. We have great contradictions here, because the laws of the government and of business are completely dissimilar. Some time must pass because a government machine cannot be built from nothing.

It is incorrect to dismiss the entire staff because there will be no one left to employ. People are not willing to work in the government in this indefinite period when a minister may be removed overnight.

[Kaulins] **Will you work in the new government if you get such a proposal?**

[Godmanis] You know, I have almost exhausted my energy. I have survived two coups, three hot seasons, and three harvests. This is above any human power. I feel that a difficult task has befallen me—to remain in office despite any criticism and to pass all work to the new government.

I have worked for a very long time—for three years. Given these times, this was fantastically long. We have employed unbelievable measures, because otherwise we simply would not have existed. Just count how many governments have changed in Estonia and Lithuania!

[Kaulins] **Do you think that a single government in Latvia is a success?**

[Godmanis] This is quite good at least from the viewpoint of stability. However, the critical time comes when things must change. I believe that such a time has come.

[Raudseps] **Will you become an ordinary deputy?**

[Godmanis] Only if people elect me. I would be eager to work in the Economic Committee. However, I suppose that I will need more training because I have mastered economics through self-education. I am a physicist, and physics is the sphere that I know. There is one more thing that I know very well—rock music. I have already had talks with the SWH firm. [not further identified] I may become the host of some program there. I believe that such a program may be very good.

Trade, Economic Agreement With Romania Approved

LD2206212293 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The Latvian Government has approved a Latvian-Romanian interstate agreement on trade and economic cooperation and on contacts in science and technology. The document operation period is unlimited. [as heard]

The agreement replaced an interstate trade pact from 1930, which became invalid from the moment both countries exchanged notes.